TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No. and Name.	Date.	SUBJECT.	Page.
1 Mr. Wyatt to Mr. Helm	1930 Dec. 30	Turkish share of Ottoman public debt ... ... Transmits copy of Turkish Government's letter of the 23rd December to Public Debt Council proposing further discussions at Angora.	1
2 Sir G. Clerk ... ... (Constantinople) **No. 489**	,, 29	Situation in Kurdistan ... ... Transmits report No. 13 from military attaché reporting conversation with Colonel Nuri Bey, of Turkish General Staff	2
3 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 490**	,, 20	Turkish Cabinet ... ... Refers to Part XX, No. 145. Reports appointment of Zekai Bey as Minister of National Defence and of Hilmi Bey as Minister of Public Works	4
4 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 491**	,, 31	Menemen incident ... ... Reports on incident which Turkish Government appear to regard as grave. Reports military measures taken and arrests made	4
5 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 493**	,, 31	Tour of President of Republic ... ... Refers to Part XX, No. 132. Learns that Gazi is making every effort to get in touch with people, and reports efforts made to prevent him doing so	5
6 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 26**	1931 Jan. 26	Heads of missions in Turkey ... ... Transmits report for 1930	5
7 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 28**	,, 28	Menemen incident ... ... Refers to No. 10. Reports proceedings of court-martial. Press suggestions that British influence was behind the incident. **Reports conversation** with Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in this connexion	10
8 To Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 83**	Feb. 5	Turkey and the League of Nations ... ... Reports conversation with Turkish Ambassador. Turkey would no longer insist on a permanent seat on the Council, but hoped they could count on support of His Majesty's Government for a semi-permanent seat	11
9 Note by Sir R. Vansittart	,, 6	Turkey and the League of Nations ... ... Record of conversation with Turkish Ambassador. Latter's exposition of European situation as seen through Turkish eyes, and his request for support of His Majesty's Government for semi-permanent seat on League Council if Turkey joined	12
10 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 36. Conf.**	Jan. 31	Turkish personalities ... ... Refers to Part XVII, No. 31. Transmits revised list of personalities	13
11 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 37**	Feb. 4	Menemen incident ... ... Refers to No. 7. Reports and comments on confirmation by Assembly of death sentences pronounced by court-martial. Further suggestions of British influence in incident	44
12 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 47**	1931 Feb. 16	Græco-Turkish relations ... ... Refers to Part XX, No. 142. Reports approval by Assembly of Græco-Turkish agreements, and transmits translation of Minister for Foreign Affairs' speech	45
13 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 60**	,, 23	Menemen incident ... ... Refers to No. 11. Reports carrying out of death sentences. Analyses reasons for severity of sentences. Probable that Gazi is trying to obliterate belief that he was sponsor of Fethi Bey's Opposition party	46
14 Mr. Morgan ... ... (Angora) **No. 7. Tel.**	Mar. 5	Turkish elections ... ... Reports decision that new elections should take place forthwith	47
15 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 69**	Feb. 28	Education in Turkey ... ... Reports press articles advocating substitution of English and German for French in Turkish curriculum. Probable schools' legislation on expiry of Lausanne Residence Convention	47
16 To Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 152**	Mar. 10	Turkey and the League of Nations ... ... Transmits memorandum handed to Turkish Ambassador explaining attitude of His Majesty's Government towards possible application of Turkey for membership	49
17 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 11. Tel.**	,, 9	Russo-Turkish relations .. .. Refers to Part XVIII, No. 90. Reports signature on the 7th March of protocol providing for limitation of naval forces in Black Sea	50
18 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 74**	,, 9	Turkish political situation ... ... Refers to No. 14. Reports conversation between Mr. Roberts and Ahmet Bey throwing light on reasons for dissolution of Liberal party. Estimates rôle played by the Gazi	50
19 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 78**	,, 9	Turkish political situation ... ... Reports on conclusion of President's tour of the country and on decision to hold new elections	52
20 Mr. Ramsay ... ... (Athens) **No. 112**	,, 10	Græco-Turkish relations ... ... Turkish Minister has informed Minister for Foreign Affairs of conclusion of Russo-Turkish naval protocol, which is generally welcomed in Greece	53
21 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 81.**	,, 12	Russo-Turkish relations ... ... Refers to No. 17. Gives text of naval protocol for limitation of forces in Black Sea Suggests that signature of protocol is connected with conclusion of Franco-Italian naval agreement	53
22 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 83**	,, 12	Situation in Kurdistan ... ... Refers to Part XIX, No. 77. Reports and comments on comparative mildness of sentences on Selahettin and other Kurds	54
23 Mr. Parr ... ... (Tehran) **No. 45. Tel.**	,, 17	Situation in Kurdistan ... ... Tabriz telegram No. 9 reporting Kurdish attack near Maku	54

No and Name	Date.	SUBJECT.	Page.
24 Mr. Parr ... ... **No. 46. Tel.**	1931 Mar. 17	Situation in Kurdistan ... ... Tabriz telegram No. 10 reporting measures taken to deal with Kurdish attack near Maku	55
25 Sir E. Ovey ... ... (Moscow) **No. 131**	„ 17	Russo-Turkish relations ... ... Refers to Part XX, No. 52. Reports conclusion on the 16th March of Soviet-Turkish commercial treaty. Summarises "Izvestiya" article regarding treaty	55
26 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 95**	„ 18	Russo-Turkish relations ... ... Refers to No. 21. Reports press comment on naval protocol, which prevents any sudden reinforcement of Black Sea Fleet by transfer of ships from Baltic	57
27 Mr. Ramsay ... ... **No. 105**	„ 9	Œcumenical Patriarchate ... ... Reports excitement of Greek press arising out of reported intention of Turkish Government to change name of patriarchate	58
28 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 98**	„ 23	Turkish ojaks ... ... Reports impending transformation of Turkish ojaks into a cultural section of the Popular party. Views of Hamdullah Suphi Bey on change, which he is inclined to ascribe to Russian influence	59
29 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 101**	„ 25	Œcumenical Patriarchate ... ... Refers to No. 27. Explains origin of report and informs of press publications. Minister for Foreign Affairs explained to Greek Minister that action of Constantinople authorities was due to a blunder	59
30 Mr. Morgan ... **No. 102**	„ 28	Situation in Kurdistan ... ... Refers to No. 24. Transmits report No. 2 from military attaché analysing the situation. Comments on Kurdish tactics and lack of co-ordination and effective leadership	61
31 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 103**	„ 28	Turkish naval visit to Malta ... ... Minister for Foreign Affairs' hope that it will be possible to make visit at latest before May 1932	62
32 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No 112**	„ 28	Œcumenical Patriarchate ... ... Refers to No. 29. Reports end of campaign against the Patriarch's title, on publication in "République" of article written at direction of Ismet Pasha	62
33 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 130**	Apr. 15	Education in Turkey ... ... Refers to No. 15. Reports promulgation of new law providing that all primary education must be given in Turkish schools. Comments on new law from point of view of foreign schools in Turkey	62
34 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 131**	„ 15	Turkish share of Ottoman public debt ... ... French Ambassador's conversation with Ismet Pasha, and latter's desire that, in order to further a settlement, discussions with bondholders' delegates should take place in Angora. Reports on press articles	63

No. and Name.	Date.	SUBJECT.	Page.
35 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 132**	1931 Apr. 15	Russo-Turkish relations ... ... Refers to No. 26. Ismet Pasha's assurance that Russian agreements contained no secret clauses. Ismet Pasha's tendency now less towards Russia. Not now necessary for Turkey to complete her naval programme	26
36 British Agent, Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal	„ 20	Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal ... ... Report on work of tribunal for period April 1930 to April 1931	65
37 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 138**	„ 21	Straits Commission ... ... Refers to Part XIX, No. 47. Transmits and comments on report for year 1930	74
38 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 143**	„ 21	Turkish elections ... ... Reports on conclusion of primary elections, which have resulted in triumph for People's party. Arrangements made for an Opposition and manifesto issued by Gazi	74
39 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 147**	„ 29	Visit of Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice to Turkey Reports on details of visit, which passed off most successfully	75
40 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 148**	„ 29	Visit of Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice to Turkey Refers to No. 39. Submits observations on political significance of visit. Considers that Turks sincerely desire to work with Great Britain	76
41 Sir G. Clerk ... ... **No. 149**	„ 30	Turkish elections ... ... Refers to No. 38. Reports completion of elections. Ten of thirty places reserved for independent candidates remain unfilled. Names of prominent Deputies not re-elected	78
42 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 36. Tel.**	May 4	President of Turkish Republic ... ... Reports Gazi unanimously re-elected	79
43 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 151**	„ 5	Turkish Assembly ... ... Reports opening of Fourth Assembly, election of officers of Assembly and re-election of Mustafa Kemal Pasha as President of Republic	79
44 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 156**	„ 6	Turkey and European Union ... ... Reports that Turkish susceptibilities have been hurt by treatment different to that given to other participating States, and summarises press publications	80
45 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 159**	„ 6	Turkish ojaks ... ... Refers to No. 28. Reports general assembly of ojaks to decide question of merging the organisation in the People's party. Probable that Hamdullah Suphi Bey will be appointed Minister to Roumania	81
46 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 161**	„ 8	Turkey and European Union ... ... Refers to No. 44. Reports conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs. Latter's thanks for sympathetic hearing given to Turkish Ambassador and his explanation of Turkish point of view	82
47 Mr. Morgan ... ... **No. 168**	„ 13	Turkish Assembly ... ... Refers to No. 43. Summary of Government's programme. Government given unanimous vote of confidence	82

	No. and Name.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
48	Mr. Morgan ... **No. 170**	1931 ... May 13	Turkish Republican Popular party ... ... Reports opening of Third General Congress of party, and summarises speeches. Transmits extract from Prime Minister's speech regarding foreign affairs	83
49	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 20. Tel.**	 27	Turco-Palestinian Treaty negotiations ... ... Reports that Turks have raised question of equal status with other foreigners as regards judicial status. Requests instructions	85
50	To Sir G. Clerk **No. 298**	... June 5	Anglo-Turkish relations ... ... Reports conversation with Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Latter's satisfaction at state of relations and observations on disarmament. European Union and question of Turkish participation in work of League	86
51	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 184. Conf.**	... May 30	Turkish share of Ottoman public debt ... ... Reports breakdown of negotiations between debt delegates and Turkish Government. Views of French Ambassador on reasons for breakdown and possible developments	87
52	Sir G. Clerk **No. 186**	... June 1	Turkish share of Ottoman public debt ... ... Refers to No. 51. Reports conversation with Prime Minister, who showed disappointment at failure of negotiations. Turkey must, however, insist on reduction in payments. Sir G. Clerk does not regard situation as hopeless	87
53	Sir G. Clerk ... **No. 187**	 4	Anglo-Turkish relations ... ... Reports celebration of King's Birthday and marked friendliness of Turks	88
54	Sir G. Clerk **No. 204**	 17	Turco-Persian relations ... ... Conversation with Persian Ambassador, who expected that frontier negotiations would be resumed shortly. Explains nature of claims. Ambassador does not anticipate much Kurdish trouble in 1931	89

SUBJECT INDEX.

[The figures refer to serial numbers of documents.]

ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS.—50, 53.
ASSEMBLY, TURKISH.—13, 47.
ATHLONE, EARL OF.—39, 40.
CABINET, TURKISH.—3.
DEBT, OTTOMAN PUBLIC.—*See* OTTOMAN PUBLIC DEBT.
EDUCATION IN TURKEY.—15, 33.
ELECTIONS, TURKISH.—14, 38, 41.
EUROPEAN UNION.—44, 46.
GRÆCO-TURKISH RELATIONS.—12, 20.
KURDISTAN, SITUATION IN.—2, 22, 23, 24, 30.
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, TURKEY AND.—8, 9, 16.
MENEMEN INCIDENT.—4, 7, 11, 13.
MISSIONS, HEADS OF.—6.
MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL.—36.
NAVY, TURKISH.—31.
ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE.—27, 29, 32.
OAKS, TURKISH.—28, 45.
OTTOMAN PUBLIC DEBT, TURKISH SHARE.—1, 34, 51, 52.
PALESTINE-TURKEY TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.—49.
PERSO-TURKISH RELATIONS.—54.
PERSONALITIES, TURKISH.—10.
POLITICAL SITUATION, TURKISH.—18, 19, 48.
PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC.—5, 42.
RUSSO-TURKISH RELATIONS.—17, 21, 25, 26, 35.
STRAITS COMMISSION.—37.
TURKEY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.—*See* LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
VISITS, NAVAL (TURKISH TO MALTA).—31.

Printed for the use of the Foreign Office.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

PART XXI.

[E 14/14/44]

No. 1.

Mr. Wyatt to Mr. Helm.—(Received January 1, 1931.)

Ottoman Debt Council, Paris,
December 30, 1930.

Dear Helm,

I ENCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a letter, dated the 23rd instant, received to-day from the Turkish Government.

Yours sincerely,
S. C. WYATT.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Turkish Government to President of Ottoman Debt Council.

Ankara, le 23 *décembre* 1930.

M. le Président,

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre en date du 11 décembre 1930 ainsi que de la note y annexée.

J'ai pris connaissance de leurs contenus avec une attention toute particulière, et je suis heureux de vous confirmer à nouveau que le Gouvernement de la République n'a nullement l'intention du renier ses dettes, étant toujours bien entendu que cette reconnaissance est limitée dans ses effets aux possibilités économiques et à la capacité de paiement de la Turquie.

Une pénible expérience nous a démontré en effet que les charges découlant pour notre pays du contrat du 31 juin 1928, ne peuvent pas être supportées sans porter aux intérêts vitaux de la Turquie un préjudice tel qu'aucun Gouvernement ne serait à même de l'envisager avec calme et lui laisser apporter à l'organisme du pays une perturbation éminemment dangereuse. C'est pourquoi nous avons pensé, et nous pensons encore, que les dettes ottomanes doivent être adaptées aux nécessités qui découlent de notre situation économique et aux réalités qui exigent, tant dans l'intérêt du pays que celui des porteurs, un arrangement destiné à arriver à une solution définitive, juste et équitable.

Laissez-moi vous rappeler, M. le Président, que dès le début des négociations ayant abouti au contrat du 13 juin 1928, nous avons trouvé en face de nous des personnalités éminentes, qui ont toujours brillamment défendu la cause des porteurs et qui continuent encore à gérer leurs intérêts à la tête du Conseil de la Dette publique répartie. Ce sont ces mêmes personnalités qui sont venues étudier avec nous la question de fond et de capacité posée dès le mois de février. Les solutions que nous avons envisagées ensemble et les problèmes que nous avons étudiés n'avaient pas comme objet les modalités d'application des articles 16 et 17, mais bien le souci d'adapter les dettes ottomanes aux possibilités économiques et à la capacité financière de la Turquie.

Nous ne pouvons pas admettre que l'autorité nécessaire pouvait faire défaut à nos interlocuteurs, délégués auprès de nous par votre conseil chargé de la représentation des porteurs et de la gérance de leurs intérêts. Je ne doute donc pas que dans les circonstances actuelles où l'intérêt des porteurs est si fortement en cause, le conseil et ses dirigeants ne trouvent le moyen de continuer à Ankara les pourparlers déjà engagés en contribuant ainsi à ce que les relations du Gouvernement et des porteurs ne soient pas plus longtemps encore basées sur la situation anormale créée par la notification du conseil en date du 24 novembre 1930.

Vu ces considérations, le Gouvernement de la République, animé de la meilleure volonté possible, s'attend à juste titre à ce que les négociations engagées dans les conditions si favorables soient continuées ici pour arriver à la solution qui s'impose dans l'intérêt bien compris du pays et des porteurs eux mêmes

Veuillez, &c.

[**E 68/68/44**]

No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received January 5, 1931.)

(No. 489.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of report No. 13 from His Majesty's military attaché at this Embassy, dated the 22nd December, respecting a conversation with Colonel Nuri Bey on the Kurdish situation

Constantinople, December 29, 1930.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

Major O'Leary to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 13.)

Sir,

Angora, December 22, 1930.

I HAVE the honour to submit some notes of a conversation which I held this morning with Colonel Nuri Bey, of the Turkish General Staff.

The Colonel spoke for an hour, with great freedom and rapidity, and my limited knowledge of Turkish did not allow me to follow every word, but I do not think that I have misunderstood any of the statements which I quote in these notes.

While not prepared to accept without question every item of Nuri Bey's account, I think there is ground for satisfaction in the fact that he was ready to discuss, with relative candour, such very delicate topics.

I have, &c.

J. B. O'LEARY, *Major, G.S*

Enclosure 2 in No. 2.

Some Observations on Kurdistan by Colonel Nuri Bey, General Staff.

COLONEL NURI knows the eastern vilayets very well, having served there for seven years before the war. The country was very wild then, and there were practically no roads, but some have been built since. He knew the British military consul at Van. He considers that a long sojourn in the eastern provinces alters a man's mentality, inducing apathy and lazy habits, such as shaving only twice a week.

The Kurds are of very mixed and doubtful origin, and have no national unity There are several hundred tribes of varying importance. He considers the racial differences between the Kurds and the Turkmans, Circassians and Armenians very doubtful, and adduces the evidence of the Kurdish vocabulary, which has very few words which are not taken from Turkish, Arabic, Circassian or Armenian, and which bears a strong resemblance to the Turkish dialects spoken in parts of Anatolia, such as the lower slopes of Ercis Dag He suggests

that they derive very largely from Seljuk Turks, who preceded the Ottoman invasion

During the latter Ottoman period, Kurds were exempted from military service, and this privilege induced many Turks to describe themselves as Kurds, and to adopt the Kurdish outlook and standard of living.

The Kurds have many useful qualities, but are natural and incurable thieves. They are also very cruel, and he has seen cases, during their struggles with the Nestorians, where they have behaved like wild beasts. He thinks that they make very poor soldiers in bulk, having no discipline, and always going off in search of plunder. Nuri Bey was in contact with a tribal cavalry division during the war, and gives a very unfavourable account of them.

Turkey is a Western nation, and has broken away from the Ottoman traditions, but the Kurds are entirely uncivilised. Those who serve in the army and learn to read and write, to live under a proper roof, and to travel in motor vehicles and trains, do not mostly return to their homes, but settle down in small towns, or emigrate to Ankara or Constantinople. Nevertheless, modern ideas are slowly infiltrating, and only a few villages have completely resisted military service and modern innovations. He quoted the case of three villages in the neighbourhood of Palumer, south of Erzincan.

Nuri Bey emphasised the fact that most of the insurgents in the recent revolt had come from Persia. In support of his statement that they made poor soldiers, he said that at Ercis, where there was a battalion, and at smaller places where there had been only a company, the Government troops successfully resisted the attacks of thousands of rebels. Zilan had also held out. Only small places, such as Patnos, devoid of troops, had fallen to the rebels. The Zilan Dere battle had been a triumph for the Turkish army; troops were brought from the Agri Dag area, and also from the south, and had inflicted a crushing defeat on the tribesmen

Colonel Nuri repeated what he had previously told me of the excellent services rendered by Turkish airmen. They were brave to a foolhardy degree, and had lost two aeroplanes, which came too low to fire machine guns at the Kurds. One aeroplane had engine trouble over Mount Ararat, and had successfully volplaned some 30 kilom. to safety.

Ihsan Bey, who had been one of the leaders in the Agri Dag rebellion, was a Turkish captain, who had deserted during the Nestorian troubles. He doubtless hoped in the recent revolt to attain a high position amongst the Kurds. Nuri Bey does not know if Ihsan is at liberty in Tehran, but thinks, in any case, that his power to do harm is exhausted.

Both Turks and Persians have now established garrisons on Mount Ararat There will be no general rising next year, although small outbreaks may occur There is much discontent with the rebels felt by the villagers, owing to their depredations, particularly their theft of sheep. Friendly negotiations continue with the Persians, for the rectification of the frontier, but Colonel Nuri seemed somewhat sceptical about the value of these discussions. The commission meets and talks and eats, he said, but the frontier is only an imaginary line, devoid of meaning, if there are no soldiers posted to enforce observance. The Persians have no troops close to the frontier, and, although they have an army of 40,000, it is not efficient, and cannot compare with the Turkish army. However, it is being re-formed, and is improving. In any case, if the frontier is adjusted, a new incursion of tribesmen by a different route would raise the necessity of further exchanges of territory.

In the case of the Iraq frontier, Nuri Pasha had seemed willing to allow Turkish troops to cross the frontier, but later, when the Vali of Hakari sent a request to this effect, the Iraq Government had refused. Complete pacification of the tribes is impossible as long as they can cross the boundaries with an impunity which is not shared by their opponents.

The General Staff is pleased to have been able to quell the revolt without a mobilisation. Local tactical exercises had been foreseen, and the operations against the Kurds had been an unpleasant, but not very difficult, substitute for these.

December 22, 1930.

[**E 69/69/44**] No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received January 5, 1931.)

(No. 490.)
Sir, *Constantinople, December* 30, 1930.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 484 of the 23rd December regarding certain changes in the Turkish Cabinet, I have the honour to report that on the 27th December Zekâi Bey, Minister of Public Works, was appointed Minister of National Defence, and Hilmi Bey, Deputy for Adana, was appointed Minister of Public Works.

2. Hilmi Bey was Vali of Adana in 1925, and subsequently inspector of the People's party there. In 1927 he became Deputy for Adana.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**E 70/69/44**] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received January 5, 1931.)

(No. 491.)
Sir, *Constantinople, December* 31, 1930.

THE Turkish Government appear to regard as very grave an incident which took place at Menemen on the 23rd December, and was of a religious and anti-governmental character.

2. Some ten days previously, six individuals belonging to the Naksibendi sect of the suppressed order of Dervishes set out from Manisa under the leadership of one Dervis Mehmet. They visited the village of Bozalan, where they were well received and stayed eight days, and were furnished with arms. They then proceeded to Menemen, secured a religious banner from a mosque, and passed on to the market-place, where Dervis Mehmet proclaimed himself the Mahdi, harangued a large crowd, and called on them to rise for religion, the Caliph and the Seriat (Moslem canon law). The local commandant of gendarmerie arrived during the discourse, but, after listening for a time, returned to the barracks with his men. A young lieutenant named Kublay endeavoured to arrest Dervis Mehmet, was wounded in the attempt, and fell, whereupon Dervis Mehmet sawed off his head and fixed it on the religious banner. The crowd made no protest, and some even applauded the barbarous act. Shortly afterwards detachments of soldiers and police were brought up and fired on the band, three of whom, including the leader, were killed, and one wounded, while two escaped, but have since been captured.

3. On learning the news, the Gazi, who is now in Constantinople, summoned from Angora the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Fevzi Pasha, and the President of the Grand National Assembly, Kâzim Pasha, and, after a long conference, decided that the movement was of a far-reaching nature and must be ruthlessly stamped out. The Government is convinced that the greatest danger for the republic lies in religious reaction. It knows that a great number of the people secretly sympathise with any attempt to restore religion to the important position it once held in the State, and is determined to strike terror into all secret or overt opponents of the lay policy of the Government.

4. The Minister of the Interior, Sukrü Kaya Bey, and Fahreddin Pasha, Army Inspector, have been sent to Menemen, and are conducting an enquiry into the incident. They blame the Civil Governor of Menemen and the commandant of the gendarmerie there for failure to do their duty, and condemn the inhabitants of Menemen and the surrounding villages for supporting, or not denouncing, the band of reactionaries.

5. Arrests are being made each day in Menemen, Manisa, Bozalan, Balikeser and Constantinople, among those arrested in Constantinople being the head of the Naksibendi sect, Seyh Kurt Esat. It is stated that, before suppression, the number of adherents of the sect was some 10,000, including most of the members of the former Imperial family, and that numbers of Dervishes still meet secretly for the celebration of their religious rites, and even enrol new adherents.

6. The Assembly is to discuss the whole matter on the 1st January. It is to-day announced that, in accordance with article 86 of the Constitution, martial law is proclaimed in the districts of Menemen and Manisa, and that all offences will be tried by court-martial.

7. It is natural that the official press, in seeking for an explanation of the outbreak at Menemen, should attribute its prime cause to the hopes raised among reactionaries by the appearance of the now defunct Liberal party, and the same press observes that many of those connected with the movement were adherents of the Liberal party, but it does not labour the theme. Other newspapers try, without much success, to show that the movement is due to some foreign intrigue. The Opposition newspapers are more restrained, and maintain that the Menemen incident is an isolated one, that too much importance must not be attributed to it, and that the republic is in no danger.

8. The true explanation of the affair probably is that there is still a deep religious feeling, in many cases amounting to fanaticism, among the people, and that consequently outbreaks similar to that of Menemen may be expected from time to time.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**E 71/69/44**] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received January 5, 1931.)

(No. 493.)
Sir, *Constantinople, December* 31, 1930.

WITH reference to paragraph 4 of my despatch No. 440 of the 19th November last, the following information which has reached me regarding the Gazi's tour of the provinces, which is still in progress, is of interest, though I cannot vouch for its complete accuracy :—

2. Sefki Sami Bey, a representative of the Ministry of Finance who is in the presidential suite, has stated in private that Mustafa Kemal is making very thorough enquiries from all grades of society, and is trying very hard to circumvent the efforts of his Ministers to prevent unwelcome news from reaching his ear. He has been painfully surprised at the extent of the general poverty and misery, and particularly impressed by the prevailing dissatisfaction with the state of the tobacco trade.

3. From another source it is reported that the Gazi does not always succeed in hearing the voice of the people. It is related that the students of the University of Stambul had prepared an address, in which they were to give clear expression to their opinion that the President was surrounded by rascally Ministers who were ruining the country and keeping the truth from him. The Faculty got wind of this proposal, however, and, not sharing the younger generation's anxiety for plain speaking, arranged that the Gazi's visit should take place during lecture hours, with the result that none of the students had a chance of expressing their views.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**E 516/138/44**] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received February 2.)

(No. 26.)
Sir, *Constantinople, January* 26, 1931.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 33 of the 22nd January, 1930, I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey in 1930.

2. The passages enclosed in brackets have been taken from previous reports.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Report on Heads of Foreign Missions.

AMBASSADORS.

Russia.

(M. JACQUES SOURITZ, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 13th June, 1923. As soon as the reopening of diplomatic relations with His Majesty's Government was practically assured, M. Souritz made a point of showing his desire for renewing our personal relations, a desire to which I have willingly responded, for he is intelligent, his inner knowledge of the Turkish Government is probably better than that of any other diplomatist here, and it is always possible to discuss with him the questions dividing our two countries in an objective and reasonable manner.

As doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, M. Souritz is not altogether satisfactory, for his Government's desire to pose as Turkey's first and special friend precludes him from joining the other heads of missions in offering any unwelcome representations to the Turkish Government.

M. Souritz is married to a pleasant Russian *bourgeoise*, who has little or no bolshevism in her composition. 1929.)

Germany.

(Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31st March, 1925. Herr Nadolny is little loved either by the Turks or his staff or his colleagues. His overbearing tactlessness estranges the Turks, his lack of consideration estranges his staff, while these qualities, added to a doubtful loyalty, naturally do not endear him to his colleagues. So far as Turkey is concerned, he will go down to history as one of the chief protagonists of new Angora, whither the German Embassy was officially transferred in December 1928. 1928.)

Notwithstanding his vaunted enthusiasm for Angora, however, he seems to contrive to spend a very small proportion of the year there, and even then his entertaining is reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, the counsellor, Herr Aschmann, who will be remembered as German representative at Geneva before the entry of Germany into the League, and his wife are among the most hospitable folk in Angora, and are very widely and deservedly popular.

United States of America.

(The Hon. Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th October, 1927, after the signature of the agreement between the United States and Turkey, which made it possible for the former Government to replace its High Commissioner, Admiral Bristol, by an Ambassador. The change has been, from our point of view, all to the good. Mrs. Grew and the two daughters are, like the Ambassador, pleasant and good to look upon, and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society. 1929.)

(Mr. Grew is a loyal colleague and a great gentleman, and is deservedly respected alike by the Turks and by the American and foreign communities. 1928.)

France.

Count Charles de Chambrun, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 28th September, 1928. During the succeeding two years relations have, thanks in no small measure to the efforts of M. de Chambrun, entered a phase of normal harmony, which is only disturbed under the occasional influence of such thorny problems as the debt question.

(It was understood, on M. de Chambrun's arrival in this country, that he would spend the major part of his time in Angora. Nevertheless, he has tended to drift back to Constantinople, except when serious negotiations with the Turkish Government make his presence in Angora indispensable. The French Government have not yet embarked upon the construction of a proper Embassy at Angora.

M. de Chambrun, who is unmarried, is a pleasant and cultivated colleague, who makes a point of doing service to the spirit of Anglo-French friendship. 1929.)

Afghanistan.

Ghulam Nabi Khan, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 6th April, 1930. He appears to be suspected at Kabul of treasonable intentions with regard to King Nadir Khan, and a recent mysterious visit to Berlin, apparently without the knowledge of his Government, has given rise to much speculation. It is believed in the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs that he will shortly be recalled or transferred. He and his staff have always made a display of considerable affability towards members of this Embassy, but the lack of an effective medium of intercourse has restricted the exchange of social amenities to a conventional minimum.

Italy.

Baron Pompeo Aloisi, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th April, 1930, having been transferred to Angora, to his great delight, from Tokyo. So far, my experience of him does not incline me to repose in him any greater confidence than he inspired in Sir John Tilley. His wife is distinguished by a vivacity more appropriate to her fictive than to her real age. She is believed to hold the strings of a well-filled purse, and it is clear that the new Ambassador will achieve the feat of entertaining even less than the members of his staff. The Italian Government have taken, at an exorbitant rent, two villas for the accommodation of the Ambassador and for offices, and the Embassy is now definitely in Angora during the winter months.

Japan.

Mr. Isaburo Yoshida, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 19th April.

He called on me in Constantinople after this event, and then went on leave, and I have not seen him since.

Poland.

M. Casimir Olszowski, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 8th October, 1930. M. Olszowski had previously been Minister at Angora, but the Legation was raised to the status of an Embassy on the 1st June, 1930. The new Embassy house was opened early in the year, and is, like the German Embassy, a haven of substantiality in an ocean of jerry-building. The large hospitality dispensed by the Ambassador and his lady have made it the principal social centre of Angora. At the end of the year it was rumoured that M. Olszowski was to be replaced by M. Wysocki from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Warsaw and transferred to Moscow, but he now appears to have averted this calamity.

MINISTERS.

Hungary.

(M. Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1924.

M. de Tahy's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish—1928), but Count Bethlen's visit has smoothed off some of the sharper angles.

Austria.

(M. Auguste Kral, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1924. I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kral, who, with his wife and grown-up daughter, are pleasant enough colleagues, though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first, have ceased to enjoy themselves. 1927.) But M. Kral contrives to convey an impression of insincerity, and I should not trust him farther than I could see him, if as far.

Spain.

(Don Juan Servert y Vest, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 3rd August, 1925. I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of Buyuk-Déré, but at such times as I have seen him, M. Servert has appeared to be pleasant and jovial. 1927.)

Czechoslovakia.

(M. Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 18th January, 1926. M. Kobr retains his love of a horse and of physical robustness, and Mme. Kobr still continues to cook the cakes for her fortnightly receptions during the Angora season. 1928.)

Bulgaria.

(M. Theodore Pavloff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly, in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in his task. 1927.)

Denmark.

(M. Otto Carl Mohr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 2nd April, 1928.

Though I found M. Mohr a friendly colleague, I confess I find it difficult entirely to forget the unsavoury reputation that he brought with him from Rio. M. Mohr has enlarged the Danish Legation at Constantinople, and entertains on a larger scale than the majority of the heads of missions. He is married to a pleasant-mannered, flaxen-haired lady, who is said to have inherited considerable wealth from her two former husbands. 1929.)

Belgium.

(M. Louis Leclercq, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th June, 1928. M. Leclercq was formerly counsellor in Rome, where he acquired a devotion to all the amenities of town life, which—were it not for the distraction of bridge—would make his annual four months' solitude at Angora rather hard for him to bear. He is simple and very friendly, and is unmarried. 1928.)

Switzerland.

(M. Henri Martin has been raised to the rank of Minister, and presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1928.

While in Angora M. Martin is invaluable for obtaining information on points of detail, and prides himself on the number of despatches which he writes to Berne. At Constantinople he is driven to circularise his colleagues; while on leave he breeds dogs in England. M. Martin would like to be taken for an Englishman. 1928.)

Greece.

M. Spyridon Polykhroniadis, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 30th November, 1929.

Speaks English and is distinctly Anglophil, but too prone to engage in lengthy political discussions and to imagine that His Majesty's Government are as engrossed in Balkan politics as he is himself. His ideas seem, however, fundamentally sensible, and the successful culmination of Græco-Turkish negotiations this year would suggest that he is distinctly *persona grata* here. His wife, a Serbian lady, considerably younger than himself, whom he married just before leaving Belgrade, is an agreeable woman, who likewise speaks some English. Both are characterised, on the tennis court and at the bridge table, by an ardour somewhat out of proportion to their skill. They entertain very pleasantly, notwithstanding the limitations of a Turkish house—which is soon to be replaced by a new Legation building.

Roumania.

M. Jean P. Carp, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 29th May, 1930, and again on the 16th October, in consequence of the proclamation of Prince Carol as King of Roumania.

A friendly and insignificant-looking little man. His wife speaks fluent English, and is distinguished by a somewhat overwhelming affability and an inconvenient ardour for tennis.

Egypt.

Abdel Malek Hamza Bey, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 8th October, 1930. He was counsellor of the Egyptian Legation in London in 1929, and has been described by His Majesty's High Commissioner at Cairo as a leading lawyer and a clever and active young man who, from extreme nationalism, has been converted to reasonable views, largely by contact with English people. He is extremely friendly, and speaks quite good English, but very little Turkish. Is apparently unmarried.

Yugoslavia.

M. Ljuba Nesic, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 16th October. As soon as he can complete the installation of a house he has taken in Angora he is likely to spend a considerable part of the winter there, a wise departure from the practice of his predecessors, on whom he is, indeed, a most welcome improvement. He has been given a credit for the construction of a new Legation at Angora, and hopes to get work started in 1931. I should not be surprised if he succeeds in effecting a very real improvement in Turco-Yugoslav relations. He is married.

Iraq.

Naji Shevket Bey, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 25th October, 1930. He was previously Mutesarrif of Mosul, and had the reputation in Iraq of being an extreme Nationalist with anti-British tendencies. He and his wife speak only Arabic and Turkish, and are very retiring in their habits, while he himself is deaf into the bargain. So far as the language difficulty permits, he seems to be prepared to be friendly, but relations with his Legation must chiefly depend on his English-speaking secretary, Ata Emin Bey, who came to Angora from London, and seems distinctly Anglophil. Ata Emin Bey has been on leave since the beginning of November, and only after his return will it be possible to judge whether anything approaching the old relations of intimacy with the Iraq Legation can be maintained under the new Minister.

Sweden.

M. Karl Gerhard von Heidenstam, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 25th October, 1930.

M. Heidenstam came here direct from Moscow, and has not yet quite realised that he is breathing another and lighter air. Both he and his wife speak fluent English, and promise to be agreeable colleagues.

M. Heidenstam's most marked physical characteristic is a strong personal resemblance to Lord Brentford.

CHARGÉS D'AFFAIRES.

Persia.

No successor to Feruki Khan has yet been appointed, and the Embassy is in charge of Mohamed Khan Saed, a friendly little man of unprepossessing appearance, married to a Latvian lady. It is believed that Feruki Khan is keeping the post open against the time when he may wish to reoccupy it himself.

Chile.

(M. Hector Briones Luco, the first Chilean diplomatic representative to be accredited to Turkey, arrived in this country in April to take up his duties as Chargé d'Affaires. 1929.) Further than this nothing is known of him.

Netherlands.

Baron de Walderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, died on Christmas Day, 1930, and the Legation is in charge of Baron de Breugel Douglas, the first secretary.

Latterly Baron Rengers showed rather more of the diplomatist and less of the *vieux marcheur*, and his death robs us of one who, with all his foibles, stood out from the generality of colleagues.

Vatican.

Mgr. Carlo Margotti, titular Archbishop of Mesembria, succeeded Mgr. Rotta as Apostolic Delegate to Turkey in April 1930. He had previously been a member both of the Roman Congregation for the Eastern Churches and of the Papal Commission for Russia.

Unlike his predecessor, Mgr. Margotti has never called upon me, but a member of my staff who has met him reports that he is affable, somewhat boyish in appearance, and creates a favourable general impression. While not officially recognised by the "lay" Turkish Government, he nevertheless enjoys *de facto* diplomatic immunity.

[**E 518/69/44**] No. 7.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received February 2.)

(No. 28.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January* 28, 1931.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 491 of the 31st December last, relative to the Menemen incident, I have the honour to report that the court-martial, foreshadowed in that despatch, has been sitting for the last ten days and has heard the case against the first group of delinquents, the surviving members of Dervis Mehmet's band, those local people who were more directly implicated in the movement, various *hoca's*, Seyh Esat, the head of the Naksibendi sect, and a number of his disciples. The Public Prosecutor has asked for the death penalty in thirty-nine cases, but the verdict has not yet been pronounced, and it appears to be the general opinion that the Turkish Government will content itself with hanging the actual murderers of Kublay Bey.

2. Meanwhile, an undesirable feature of the incident is the increased tendency of various Turkish newspapers to insinuate, and in some cases openly state, that British influence is at the back of the whole episode. It is true that most of these papers are worthless and irresponsible rags, but I enclose a copy of an article in yesterday's "Aksam," which is by way of being a serious and important paper, owned and edited by a prominent Deputy.(1)

3. I have no fear that this nonsense is rated at anything beyond its proper value by the Turkish Government, save possibly within the walls of the Ministry of National Defence, where an ineradicable atmosphere of undying suspicion of Great Britain seems permanent. None the less, I thought it as well not to let these attacks pass altogether unnoticed, and by my direction Mr. Roberts mentioned the matter to the Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

4. Numan Bey said that he had observed the attempt of certain organs of the press to attribute what had happened at Menemen to the machinations of British agents, but he pointed out that the papers in question were of doubtful political colour and not amenable to suggestions from official quarters. He deplored the irresponsibility of the Turkish journalists, who had been publishing the most incredible reports on matters of foreign policy and whom he was doing his utmost to induce to apply to the Ministry for their information on such topics. Mr. Roberts said that he, too, had noticed that the majority of these reports had appeared in irresponsible papers, and that this was the consoling feature in what was otherwise a depressing phenomenon. But there were apparently more serious cases, and Mr. Roberts mentioned the "Inkilâp," in which he believed the Prime

Minister had, until recently at any rate, held an interest. Numan Bey replied that the paper was owned by a certain Naci Bey, whose father had been a Persian and was previously connected with the "Ikdam" and the "Vakit," and that he felt sure that the Prime Minister had no interest in it, as it had only recently strongly attacked the People's party. Mr. Roberts then showed Numan Bey a cartoon in "Köroglu," showing Colonel Lawrence being unmasked as the guiding spirit of reaction in Turkey, but admitted that the paper was apparently oppositional in sympathy, as it had favoured the fortunes of the Liberal party until shortly before the latter's demise. Finally, Mr. Roberts came to the report in the "Vakit," of the 23rd January, to the effect that an alleged Colonel Holstein, a British spy and the companion of Lawrence, had been hovering on the southern frontier and issuing his instructions to the Naksibendi dervishes. Mr. Roberts said that this seemed to him more serious, as the editor of the "Vakit" was Asim Bey, a prominent Deputy of the Popular party. Numan Bey, naturally, scouted these ridiculous insinuations, which he characterised as stories from the "Thousand and One Nights," but he promised to speak to the Director of the Press Bureau and ask him to do what he could with the journalists.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**W 1385/1385/98**] No. 8.

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).

(No. 83.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 5, 1931.

THE Turkish Ambassador called on me this morning and left with me the accompanying aide-mémoire. His Excellency said that his Government wished also to thank me for urging the claim of Turkey to participate in the work of the European Commission. The Turkish Government were extremely anxious to collaborate in every way with His Majesty's Government, and so strong was their desire to do what His Majesty's Government wanted that I could count on their following our lead in all important questions, disarmament and other things.

2. The Ambassador went on to speak about Turkey and the League of Nations. His Government, he said, were now inclined no longer to insist on being allotted a permanent seat on the Council as a condition of their joining the League. They did feel, however, that they had a right to expect as much consideration as Poland, and they hoped that, if they asked for a semi-permanent seat on the Council, they could count on the support of His Majesty's Government.

3. I said that naturally I could not commit myself to any definite answer, but I would go into the matter very carefully. In any case, I felt that it was now in Turkey's real interests to be inside, not outside, the League.

4. The Ambassador said that his Government counted with a certain confidence on their request being backed up by Germany and Italy, but they were afraid of obstruction on the part of France. If Great Britain took up a definite stand in favour of the Turkish request, the Ambassador thought that the French Government would not be likely to press their opposition. His Excellency went on to tell me in confidence that his Government had the impression that the French Government at present looked with less favour on Turkish aspirations than formerly, as they resented Turkish friendship with Italy and Russia. But Russia was Turkey's most important neighbour, and it was of the highest importance to keep on good terms with her. Relations between the two countries were amicable at present, as were also those with Iraq; he hoped that this satisfactory state of things would continue.

I am, &c.

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

---

(1) Not printed.

Enclosure in No. 8.

Aide-mémoire.

THE Turkish Government have asked me to convey to your Excellency their heartfelt thanks for the friendly attitude and the kindly disposition which your Excellency was good enough to show when the question of Turkey was discussed at the Preparatory Commission for the Union of the European States at Geneva.

In his communication Tevfik Rüstü Bey adds that he quite expected this courteous gesture, considering the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

Turkish Embassy, London,
February 5, 1931.

[**W 1584/1385/98**]

No. 9.

Note by Sir R. Vansittart.

THE Turkish Ambassador came to see me to-day. He said that what he was about to say he had already explained in a previous interview with the Secretary of State, but, as he had had in that interview to speak in English, of which he was no great master, he preferred to go over the ground again with me in French in case on any point he had been insufficiently explicit or had made himself incompletely understood. He was very voluble (and very friendly), and throughout the interview I had little opportunity of interposing a word, even if I had been so disposed.

He began with a lengthy exposition of the European situation as seen through Turkish eyes. Most of this he has probably already set forth to the Secretary of State. To put it briefly, the Turkish mind is full of old-world or pre-war apprehensions, for which, of course, he had a certain amount of chapter and verse at hand. The Turkish summary is that Europe is again tending to fall into a group system, which he classified as the contents and malcontents. Under the latter heading he referred specifically to Italy, Germany and Russia. As regards Italy and Russia in particular, Turkey has considerable, if rather vague, apprehensions in regard to an unspecified future, but, of course, he said Turkey felt bound by her position to stand well with them. He said, however, that Turkey feared that she was being pushed too far (and particularly by what they believed to be the present tendencies of French policy) towards the group of the malcontents, and this Turkey wished to avoid. He had recently been at Angora, where there had been considerable discussion of these topics, and he said the Turkish Government had come to the conclusion that there was only one country in Europe which was free from any tendency towards this uncomfortable and dangerous group system, and that was Great Britain. The Turkish Government had therefore decided that they wished to work with this country in terms of the friendliest collaboration, and he had come to tell me so officially. He repeated this twice.

From this lengthy preface, which I have greatly condensed, he came to what, I suppose, was the main, if second, point of his visit, which was the one he had already set before the Secretary of State, namely, Turkish desire to enter the League of Nations, no longer, as had been originally wished, with a permanent seat, but with a semi-permanent one. He made it clear that, if Turkey was supported in this, the "friendly, frank and close collaboration" with this country would be forthcoming, not only by reason of sentiment, but also with an eye to Turkey's real interests, *i.e.*, the avoidance of excessive drift towards the malcontents. With regard to these, he said his Government felt sure that Germany and Italy would support the Turkish request, and he wished to be assured of England's support also.(1) This idea he had already explained fully to the Secretary of State, and I told him that I was aware that he had already spoken to the Secretary of State, and that I knew the terms of the Secretary of State's reply. He begged me, however, to discuss the matter with the Secretary of State next week, and I said I would of course report his visit and the

substance of what he had said to the Secretary of State when he returned to London.

I should be glad of an opportunity to do so. The Turkish Ambassador was not pressing for an early reply, but I understand from the covering note attached to the Secretary of State's account of his interview with the Ambassador that he is personally inclined to view the Turkish request with sympathy. With this, although, of course, I did not say so to the Ambassador, I also feel in agreement.

R. V.

February 6, 1931.

---

(1) He was afraid of French opposition unless France were tactfully handled by us. I tried once or twice during the interview to diminish his suspicions of France, but he remained good-humouredly unconvinced though unalarmed. I think this is partly due to the position of Syria.—R. V.

[**E 649/649/44**]

No. 10.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received February 9.)

(No. 36. Confidential.)

Sir,

Constantinople, January 31, 1931.

WITH reference to Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 92, Confidential, of the 26th February, 1929, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a complete series of notes on the leading Turkish personalities, which have been brought up to date by Mr. Roberts and Mr. Knight.

2. It will be observed that a few of the names previously included are missing from the present biographies. The omission of Ata Bey is explained by the fact of his recent death, while Adil, Aziz and Kemal Aziz Beys are considered to be no longer of sufficient importance to warrant their inclusion. On the other hand, the present record comprises a considerable number of persons who were not included in the last report, but who have become more prominent in the course of the last two years. These are Naci and Sükrü Nayli Pashas, and Esat, Hilmi, Mustafa Şeref, Necmettin Sadik, Numan, Nuri, Resit Saffet, Salih, Yusuf Akçura and Zeki Mesut Beys.

3. The new Turkish spelling has, of course, been employed throughout for personal names, and those which were formerly written with "J" and "Sh" will therefore be found under "C" and "S" respectively.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 10.

Notes on Leading Turkish Personalities.

Abdulhalik Bey, Mustafa.

BORN at Yanina about 1870. Belongs to a family of Albanian Tosks. Educated at Yanina and at Mülkiye College, Constantinople. In 1908 appointed member of the Council of State. Uncle by marriage of the late Talat Pasha. In 1910–11, Vali of Skoplje (Üsküp). 1914–15, Vali of Van. For a short period in 1915 was Under-Secretary for the Interior. 1915–16, Vali of Bitlis, and 1916–17 of Aleppo. Again became Under-Secretary for the Interior, holding post until the armistice. Arrested in May 1920 and deported to Malta on charge of atrocities committed at Aleppo during the war. Learnt to play tennis and bridge there. In 1923 was Vali of Smyrna, when he got on well with Europeans. In July elected Deputy for Çankiri. In January 1924 succeeded Hasan Fehmi Bey as Minister of Finance, and held post till March 1925. Resigned on fall of Fethi Bey and became director-general of the Agricultural Bank and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of Finance. In July 1926 became Minister of Finance. He soon showed himself aware of the weakness of Turkey's financial position abroad, and visited Europe in the summer of 1927, when he was identified with an arrangement for the settlement of the "coupons" question. In September he was re-elected Deputy for Çankiri, and in November, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, became Minister of National Defence and Acting Minister of Marine. The latter post was subsequently merged in the former, which he retained in Ismet Pasha's Cabinet as reconstructed in September 1930. Succeeded Saracoğlu Sükrü Bey as Minister of Finance in December 1930.

Abdulhalik Bey knows Greek and speaks indifferent French. He owed his early advancement to his relationship with Talat Pasha, though he was never a prominent Unionist figure. Though not possessed of brilliance, he has considerable administrative capacity, and enjoys a reputation for scrupulous honesty —a virtue as acceptable at the Ministry of Finance as in that of Defence, where peculation in connexion with munitions contracts had previously been rampant. Is essentially a moderate, and the only member of the Cabinet to observe the Ramazan Fast. Is a keen gardener, a good bridge player and agreeable in conversation. Much liked by representatives of foreign business firms seeking contracts.

Adnan Bey, Dr.

Born about 1880. Trained in Germany as physician, and was formerly medical adviser to Talat Pasha. During the war was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 became secretary-general of the Red Crescent Society and a Deputy for Constantinople. In January 1920 went to Angora and threw in his lot with Mustafa Kemal, and in May became Minister of Public Health. In August became temporarily Minister of the Interior, and in March 1921 Vice-President of the Assembly. In June 1922 became Minister of Public Works, but resigned in July. Was again for a time Vice-President of the Assembly, but in December was appointed to Constantinople as delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which post he held until June 1924, having previously opted for the deputyship for Constantinople, to which he had been elected in the previous year. Proceeded to Europe, and gradually became associated with Refet Pasha and Rauf and Cambulat Beys in their opposition to Mustafa Kemal. In November he resigned from the People's Republican party and became vice-president of the Executive Bureau of the newly-formed Progressive party. In February 1926 he resigned his deputyship, nominally on grounds of ill-health, having been resident in London in the previous year. In August 1926 he was tried by default for participation in the plot against the life of the President, but was acquitted. Throughout 1927 he continued to reside in London, and followed medical courses at St. Thomas's Hospital. Is understood to be in rather straitened circumstances.

Adnan Bey is a tall, pleasant man with a delicate constitution. Is cultured and speaks French well. Moderate in his views, and owes much to his reputation for honesty and to his being the husband of Halide Edip Hanim, the well-known Turkish novelist. Was a strong supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the early stages of the Nationalist movement, but his moderate and anti-Bolshevik sentiments made his suspect.

Ahmet Bey, Agaoğlu.

Born about 1864 in Russian Azerbaijan. Son of an Islamised Caucasian Jew. Educated at Moscow, and started life as a journalist. Became an *agent provocateur* to the Russian Secret Service and organised Armenian massacres at Baku in 1904. In 1903–5 published two newspapers in Baku, but then fell into disgrace; went to Turkey and became a Turkish subject in 1908. Threw in his lot with the Committee of Union and Progress. Later, published a pro-Russian paper in Turkish, and became editor of the "Tercumani Hakikat." In 1916 became Minister of Education, and at this time was noted for his anti-British articles. Took a part in organising the Armenian massacres. In 1918 received £T. 100,000 from the Committee of Union and Progress funds. 1919–21, interned at Malta, where he learnt some English. In June 1921 he became director of the Press Bureau at Angora, and from then onwards was a close friend of Mustafa Kemal. Was in the past the chief worker for closer Russo-Turkish relations, often by means of editorial articles in the officially-inspired "Hakimiyeti Milliye," of which he was one of the editors.

In the 1923–27 Assembly he was a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party and of the Foreign Affairs Commission, as well as reporter of the Constitutional Commission. Was re-elected Deputy for Kars in September 1927, and in November became a member of the party's Executive Bureau and of the Constitutional Commission. Resigned from the People's party in August 1930 to join the new Liberal Republican party founded by Fethi Bey.

Ahmet Bey is a short man with heavy eyebrows and dark glasses. He recalls the storied one-eyed mule of hideous aspect, but that aspect is benignant, and in his riper years tends to belie the lurid record of his youth. He is the "character" of the Grand National Assembly, and loves nothing so well as a joke, even at his own expense. He is seen occasionally in society, accompanied by his blue-stocking, English-speaking daughters, who are no more attractive in appearance than their father. Speaks Russian, French, Persian and Turkish. Since the summer of 1926 his articles have become less hostile to Great Britain, and in conversation he delights to expatiate on the charm of English life, particularly as led at Oxford.

Ahmet Muhtar Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1871. Studied at French school and military college in Constantinople. In 1891 received a post in the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; in due course became its Sub-Director-General. In 1909 consul-general at Budapest. In 1912 Minister at Athens. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and in 1913 was for a short time Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1917 Minister at Kiev. Returned to Turkey in March 1919. Became Deputy for Constantinople. Escaped to Anatolia in June 1920 and joined the Nationalist movement. In June 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and in the same year appointed Ambassador at Moscow. In October 1924 he opted for his deputyship and returned to Turkey. From 1923 till 1927 was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In June 1927 his appointment as Ambassador to Washington was announced, and in November he took up his duties.

Ahmet Muhtar Bey is a man of the world, and his long official career has given him at least all the outward characteristics of a diplomat. He strikes one, however, as being somewhat sinister, though he is very agreeable in conversation. Speaks French fluently. Is credited with strong Russian sympathies.

Ali Bey.

Born about 1875 at Afyon Karahisar. Educated at the Constantinople Military School. Commanded a battalion at Çatalca during the Balkan war, and served in the Great War as a colonel. Organised resistance to the Greeks at Ayvalik in 1919. Was elected a Deputy for Constantinople in December, and remained there to attend the debates till March 1920, when he was deported to Malta. Released a year later, he at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. After his re-election in 1923 he became one of the chief organisers of the People's party, and in November 1924 was elected vice-president of the administrative council of the party, a position which he still fills. In March 1925 he was appointed president of the Angora Independence Tribunal; soon afterwards shot with impunity a fellow Deputy in the Chamber, and unconcernedly passed death sentences till the Independence Tribunals were abolished early in 1927. 1925–27 was president of the Defence Commission of the Assembly, and in November 1927, on his re-election as Deputy for Afyon Karahisar, became a member of the Budget Commission.

Ali Bey, known as the "bald-headed," is a curious phenomenon, for, in spite of his record, he is attractive. Until recently only spoke Turkish, but for the last two years has devoted an hour daily to the study of English, which he now speaks haltingly, but reads with a certain facility. He has an engaging smile, and was once very aptly described by a British visitor to Angora as resembling "a benevolent Scotch elder." During the summer of 1927 rumour was busy with his name as a possible successor to Ismet Pasha. It is doubtful if he could have filled the bill, though his surprising honesty could not have failed to be an asset. Previously much in evidence at the Angora Club, he now rarely puts in an appearance. He is not a conversationalist.

Ali Cenani Bey.

Born about 1880 at Ayintap, which he represented in the Constantinople Parliament, being for a time reporter for the budget. Was deported to Malta in 1919 on a charge of complicity in the massacres of Armenians at Ayintap. On being released he joined the Kemalist movement, and has been Deputy for Ayintap since 1921. In November 1924 became Minister of Commerce. In 1925 his commercial legislation showed that he was leading the ultra-Nationalist movement against Christian employees and foreign capital. In May 1926 he resigned, owing to reported differences with the Minister of Finance. He nevertheless continued to be influential, and for two years was the chief Turkish delegate for commercial negotiations with foreign countries, being responsible in particular for the Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty of March 1927. Became reporter of the Budget Commission in November 1927 but fell from grace early in 1928, when he was tried by the High Court for a misuse of public funds while Minister of Commerce. Was heavily fined, but his sentence of imprisonment was commuted. After reappearing in influential circles, left Turkey for Damascus in mysterious circumstances in December 1929. Though reported to owe £T. 100,000 to the Turkish Government, he has now once more reappeared at Angora, where his past seems in a fair way to being forgotten.

Ali Cenani Bey was for long the leading business man in the Aintap area, and in business circles was considered honest and go-ahead. Much of his property is now in Syria, and he has frittered away most of his considerable wealth. He is a poor speaker, of jaundiced appearance, and has been described as active, resourceful and wily. He plays a vigorous, but not very good, game of bridge. His two daughters have received an American college education, but his wife is rarely seen. His son is at the English High School in Constantinople.

Ali Fuat Pasha

Born in Constantinople in 1882. Grandson of the renegade German who was Turkish delegate at Berlin Congress. Graduated from the military school in 1905. 1908–11 military attaché at Rome. During the war fought on the Caucasus and Palestine fronts. Was one of the first Turkish generals to join the Kemalist movement and was one of Mustafa Kemal's most trusted leaders until his tendency to take an independent line in the field led, late in 1920, to his appointment as Kemalist Ambassador at Moscow, where he was chiefly instrumental in securing the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty of March 1921. Was recalled in April 1922 owing to an incident in the Embassy in Moscow, and resumed his military command. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Angora and Vice-President of the Assembly. Later became inspector-general at Konya, but resigned his post in October 1924, by which time he had become completely associated with the Rauf-Adnan-Refet Opposition group. In November he resigned from the People's party and became secretary-general of the new Progressive party. In 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted. His reception by the President in November 1926, and again early in 1927, gave rise to a rumour that Ali Fuat was returning to the Kemalist fold, but this was not confirmed, and he ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Is now living in retirement.

Ali Fuat Pasha has a reputation for honesty. During the war was not on good terms with the German commanders, and during the armistice period was believed to be violently anti-British, but he was on good terms with the British mission in Moscow.

Ali Sait Pasha

Born near Bandirma in 1874, of Circassian origin. Graduated from the Military College in 1898, and held several minor staff appointments till 1907, when, with the rank of major, he was sent to the Yemen. Returned to Constantinople in 1909, and in 1913, during the Balkan war, was in charge of the lines of communication. Was then for a time control officer on the Anatolian Railway until January 1914, when he was promoted colonel and posted to Sanaa in the Yemen, where he remained until some time after the 1918 armistice, when he was finally induced to surrender to the British authorities at Aden, whom he had fought for four years, during most of which he was out of touch with his Government. Interned in Egypt for a short time, Ali Sait Pasha, who had now been promoted general, returned to Constantinople early in 1919 and was Military Governor of the capital till March 1920, when, on the occupation of the town, he was deported to Malta. Immediately after his release in October 1921 he joined Mustafa Kemal, and in the following year he succeeded Kazim Karabekir Pasha as General Officer Commanding the Eastern Army. In October 1924 he was appointed Inspector-General of the First Army Area, and still holds this post. Was promoted to be a general of the first class in August 1927.

Ali Sait Pasha is pleasant, courteous and has a well modulated voice. Was probably at one time decidedly pro-British, and still is, as he says, "in the interests of his country," but he chooses to forget rather than to forgive his treatment at British hands. Not a strong personality and takes no part in politics, but is interested in Iraq oil to such an extent that on an Angora ballroom floor he produced to a member of the Embassy a largish map, on which the position of his wells was clearly shown. Speaks a little English, a consequence of Malta, where he also learnt to play tennis. Both he and his massive wife used to be very popular in Angora society, but, when the attendance of military officers at social functions was vetoed in March 1928, they transferred their domicile to Constantinople, and their appearances in the capital are now all too infrequent.

Asim Pasha

Born about 1882 in Constantinople. Passed out of Military College in 1902 with rank of staff captain, and was attached to the Imperial Guard. From 1907 to 1909 served on staff of Bitolj (Monastir) division. In 1909 appointed to General Staff. Pursued a course of military studies in Germany from 1912 till January 1915, when on his return he was attached to Turkish General Headquarters, remaining there till end of war. Again in Germany 1918–19. In November 1920 became chief of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff, but soon after threw in his lot with the Nationalists and became Chief of Staff to Fevzi Pasha. In November 1924 became General Officer Commanding the IXth Army Corps, in August 1926 was promoted Divisional General and later commanded the 5th Corps. In October 1928 was appointed sub-chief of the Turkish General Staff.

Asim Pasha is a tall, dark man of slight build and has a very pleasant manner. He has the reputation of being hard-working, strict, accurate and given to great financial economy. He got on well with his German superiors during the war, speaks German well, and knows some French.

Behiç Bey

Born about 1880. An ex-colonel. In 1924 was chief administrator of the Anatolian Railway, a post in which he showed considerable ability and energy. In December 1925 became a Deputy for Constantinople and a month later Minister of Public Works. As a Minister he was a pronounced success, and showed great capacity in organising the existing railways and in dealing with the somewhat grandiose construction schemes of the Government. Resigned, October 1928, nominally on grounds of ill-health, and was immediately afterwards appointed Minister at Budapest.

Bekir Sami Bey.

A Circassian, born in the Caucasus in 1868. His family later settled in Amasya. Educated in Constantinople and at the law school in Paris, where he remained for twelve years. Joined the Young Turks on his return to Turkey in 1898. Was given a Government post in Tripoli. Vali of Tripoli in 1908, of Trebizond in 1910, of Brusa in 1910, of Beirut 1910–11, and again of Trebizond 1911–12. Vali of Aleppo from 1914–16. Proceeded to Angora in April 1920, and was immediately appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Later in the year made several visits to Russia, and in February 1921 headed the Angora delegation to the Peace Conference. Visited London, Paris and Rome. Resigned on his return to Angora. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Tokat. In the following year his opposition tendencies became pronounced, and in November he left the People's party to join the newly-formed Progressive party. In 1926 he was tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, but was acquitted. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Got a share of opprobrium in Mustafa Kemal's great speech of October 1927.

Is a colossally built man, tall and stout, with a slight impediment in his speech. Liberal and energetic, and, apart from his violent Russophobia, moderate in his opinions.

Cafer Tayar Pasha

Born in 1883 at Prishtina, of poor parents. Educated by the charity of an Albanian, who sent him to the military school. Saw service in Macedonia, and in 1907 became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Served at the Dardanelles, and in 1918 had command of the forces in Northern Caucasus. Early in the armistice he showed himself violently anti-British, and formed a military organisation at Adrianople, with which, in 1920, he threatened to resist the occupation of the town by the Greek army. From then onwards was known as the hero of Adrianople, for which, since 1920, he had been the senior Deputy. In 1924 he commanded the troops in the Eastern Vilayets, but his enthusiasm for Mustafa Kemal began to cool, and in October he resigned his military duties to take up those of a Deputy. In July 1926, along with Ali Fuat, Refet and Kâzim Karabekir Pashas, was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted, largely, it is understood, owing to the fear of the authorities of his influence with the army. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927, and since then has been little heard of. Was sharply attacked in the Gazi's lengthy review of the revolution in 1927.

Cafer Tayar Pasha is a strong patriot, just and honest, and, as a result of his Adrianople experiences, is violently Græcophobe.

Celal Nuri Bey.

Born about 1880. A journalist, manager of a Young Turk newspaper in Constantinople in 1906. Expelled shortly after, and only returned after the Constitution, when he began to publish his paper "Ileri," which continued to appear till 1925. Was subventioned by the Germans during the war. In the early armistice ran his paper as a Kemalist organ until he was deported to Malta in March 1920. Shortly before he had been elected Deputy for Gallipoli. Was released in March 1921 and at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. Has since been a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly, in 1922 being president, reporter in 1923 and secretary in 1930. During the constitutional crisis in March 1924 he was a warm supporter of the proposal to accord dissolution and veto powers to the President of the Republic, but the proposal was defeated. In September 1927 was elected Deputy for Tekirdag (Rodosto), and in November, while still retaining membership of the Constitutional Commission, became reporter of the Drafts Commission of the Assembly.

Celal Nuri Bey is something of an intellectual, clever and an intriguer. He is supposed to have Communist leanings, but was for some time chiefly active in an anti-Greek campaign nominally on behalf of Turkish non-exchangeables.

Cemal Husnu Bey.

Born about 1887. An ex-officer. Has been Deputy for Gumusane since February 1925. 1927-28 was reporter of Assembly Commerce Commission, and is now a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In March 1928 became chief Turkish delegate for the exchange of populations, and in November of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Appointed Minister of Education in April 1929, and Minister at Berne in September 1930, when he resigned his deputyship.

Cemal Husnu Bey is pleasant to talk to, speaks fair French and plays a fair game of bridge. He is, however, very impetuous, and on several occasions nearly torpedoed the Græco-Turkish negotiations.

Cemil Bey.

Born about 1885. Has followed a military career. About 1906 was commandant of the garrison at Salonica, and at that time saved Mustafa Kemal from arrest by Abdulhamid's secret police. During the armistice, when he held the rank of staff lieutenant-colonel, was in command of the defence forces against the Greeks at Catalca. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Tekirdag (Rodosto). In May 1924 appointed general secretary of the People's party, and in January 1925 became Minister of the Interior. Though for a time he did well and exercised considerable influence, his position became weakened early in 1927 owing to alleged irregularities in connexion with Government contracts, and though re-elected Deputy in September, he ceased to hold ministerial rank on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in November 1927. In the same month he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Is now one of the vice-presidents of the People's party and chairman of the Internal Affairs Commission.

Cemil Bey is reserved and intelligent, and speaks only a little French.

Cemil Bey, Professor.

Born about 1880. Has followed a legal career and specialises in international law, on which he is now the recognised Turkish authority. Was chief adviser to the Turkish delegation before The Hague Tribunal in 1927 in connexion with the "Lotus" incident, in which judgment was given in favour of Turkey. From 1922 to 1924 was one of the chief movers in a Turkish association for supporting the League of Nations, and in October 1924 attended the congress of League of Nations Societies in London.

Cemil Bey is quiet, reserved and almost entirely absorbed in his studies. His family have received a European education. Is a keen gardener. Somewhat brusque of manner.

Cevat Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1873. Educated at the Galata Saray College and at the military school. In 1893 aide-de-camp to the Sultan. Later, sent to Germany to complete his military studies, and on his return secured rapid promotion owing to his father's influence at the palace. In 1913 appointed General Officer Commanding the Dardanelles Defences, and was in command of the Palestine army at the time of the Turkish collapse in 1918. In November 1918 became Chief of General Staff, and in December was Minister for War. Obstructed the Allies during the early armistice, and from the first was one of the strongest and cleverest of the Nationalist supporters in Constantinople. From October 1919 till January 1920 was again Chief of the General Staff. In March 1920 was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in October 1921, he at once proceeded to Angora, and in January 1922 was given the command of the Turkish troops near the Iraq frontier. Elected Deputy in July 1923, he took no part in the proceedings of the Assembly, having in the meantime been appointed military inspector-general in the eastern provinces. In October 1924 was in supreme command of the Turkish forces on the Iraq frontier when the *status quo* difficulty arose. Later in the month he resigned from his military duties, in order to take up his deputyship. Resigned from the latter two months later. In January 1925 was attached to the Iraq Frontier Commission in the capacity of assessor, and showed himself petulant and irascible. In September and December was attached to the Turkish Mosul delegation to Geneva. In April 1926 became a member of the Supreme Military Council, and in August was promoted to the rank of general of the first class. In November 1930 went to Geneva as military adviser on Turkish delegation to Preparatory Disarmament Conference.

Cevat Pasha knows French and German well. Is very Germanophil and something of an opportunist. Has good manners, is well educated and a capable administrator. He is old-fashioned, drinks little and says his prayers, but is stated to be jealous of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who served under him at the Dardanelles.

Cevat Abbas Bey.

Born about 1890. Early in 1919 became aide-de-camp to Mustafa Kemal, and at the same time was elected Deputy for Bolu. Had control over the activities of the Nationalist secret agents throughout 1920. In July 1921 went on a mission to Bulgaria with a view to organising trouble in Thrace, and in December became unofficial Kemalist representative at Sofia. He returned to Angora early in 1922, and in the autumn was one of the instigators of the Turkish insurrectionist movement in Western Thrace directed against Greek rule. In 1923 was re-elected Deputy for Bolu, and at the end of the year there was much talk and intrigue in regard to his proposed definite appointment as Turkish Minister at Sofia. In 1924 was president of the Turkish Aeroplane Association, in the interest of which he showed great activity. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and since November 1927 has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Maintains close contact with the President of the Republic.

Edip Servet Bey (Doğdevirenoğlu)

Born at Constantinople in 1879. Son of Servet Pasha. Left the Military College in 1898. Served with the Salonica army and in Thrace till he entered the Staff College in 1909. In 1911 was attached to the Yanina Regiment, and in 1913 promoted major. Held a staff appointment during the Balkan war, and was on the military staff of the Turkish delegation to the 1913 Peace Conference in London. Later in the year was for a few months chief A.D.C. to the Heir Apparent. Served during the Great War at the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and in 1917 was director of the Military Press Bureau. In March 1918 was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Roumania to conclude peace. During the armistice was a member of the Armistice Commission and director of Prisoners of War Section, and joined Mustafa Kemal in June 1920. Was afterwards chiefly engaged in arranging the supply of munitions, and in 1922 was for a time member of the Turco-Syrian Frontier Delimitation Commission. In November became Military Commandant of Constantinople and Acting Governor of Pera. Since November 1925 has been Deputy for Constantinople. In 1926 he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress at Mecca, and made history by appearing in a bowler hat. In 1927 was a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, and is now a member of that for Economic Affairs. Is a leading member of the board of the Is Bankasi and Balya Karaiydin Company, and is also Grand Master of the Angora Lodge of Freemasons.

Edip Bey is short, stout and jovial, with a face like the rising sun. On the rare occasions when, in the early hours, it has approached its zenith he shows a taste for opera and old Turkish songs, and has a good voice. Though not involved so deeply in politics as are his companions, he is in great favour with the Gazi, and is influential, being an intimate friend of Saffet Bey. While not appearing bright he is shrewd and sharp, and probably does more hard thinking than any of the coterie. Speaks French, Italian, Russian and German. Is hospitable, with a naive courtliness of manner and a passion for doing things right and urging his friends to do likewise. Is perhaps the most popular Turk in Angora.

Enis Bey Mehmet

Born about 1887. From 1907 until the Great War was an official of the Ministry of Interior. Became vice-consul at Ancona during the war, and in 1925 was counsellor at Moscow. In 1926 became Director-General of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in October was given the rank of Minister, and in November 1927 became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Minister at Athens in 1929.

Enis Bey is pleasant and capable. In spite of indifferent health, he for some time carried the entire burden of the Foreign Ministry, and was universally liked by all who came in contact with him. Is straightforward and honest. The organisation of the Foreign Ministry out of complete chaos was due almost entirely to him, and his departure was generally regretted by the foreign diplomats at Angora. His wife is attractive.

Ercument Ekrem Bey

Born about 1888, the son of Recai Ercument Bey, the Turkish poet. Appointed secretary at the Turkish Legation at Athens. Was recalled by Abdulhamit on suspicion of intriguing with disloyal elements. Later appointed to Bucharest. Was Mayor of Pera during the armistice. In 1923-24 was Director of Press in Angora. In March 1924 became private secretary to President of Republic, but fell foul of the President's wife, and in April became Assistant Prefect of Constantinople. Was dismissed in August, and remained unemployed till September 1927, when he again became Director of Press at Angora.

Ercument Ekrem Bey is a short, stout man of a disagreeable type. He is certainly clever, but not at all to be trusted. Speaks fair English.

Esat Bey

Born in Verria (Macedonia) in 1874. Educated in the Harbiye School and graduated in 1894. Gazetted to the VIth Army (Syria). In 1898 entered the Harbiye (Military) School, where he occupied different functions for twelve years. After the proclamation of the Constitution he proceeded to Germany in order to complete his studies. In the last phase of the Balkan War he was commander of the 93rd Regiment, and during the Great War commander of the 26th Division. He was pensioned at his own request when he was colonel and president of the

military section (Harbiye Dairesi). Became afterwards president of the administrative council of a commercial venture, the Ordu Donanma Pazar (military and marine bazaar), administrative counsellor of the telephone company, member of the Constantinople Municipal Assembly, and was elected Deputy for Brusa three years ago. He knows three foreign languages, and has occupied himself for many years with the study of pedagogy. Appointed Minister of Education in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet September 1930.

Fahrettin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at the Military School, where he was a class-mate of Enver Pasha. 1909, in command of troops against the Kurds, near Dersim. Later became an active Committee of Union and Progress adherent, and in 1910 chief aide-de camp to the War Office. Held various staff appointments before becoming Under-Secretary for War in 1915. In 1916 commanded the Turkish division in Galicia, and in 1918 served on the Palestine front. In 1920 was a colonel in command of the Imperial troops at Konya. Joined the Nationalist cause in the summer of that year. Later in 1920 secured the command of the XIIth Army Corps, which he retained until the final success of the Turks over the Greeks. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and became commander of the Vth Army Corps. In October 1924 resigned his deputyship on opting for military duties. In November 1924, on the resignation of Ali Fuat Pasha, became one of the three military inspectors general, and in August 1926 was promoted divisional general of the first class, thus holding a higher rank than any of the Opposition Pashas. Was attached to the King of Afghanistan during the latter's visit to Angora in May 1928. On the 1st January, 1931, was appointed Military Commander of the district (Manisa and Balikesir), placed under martial law in consequence of the reactionary incident at Menemen.

Fahrettin Pasha is a tall, well-built man and a good type. He has been described as a rough diamond, but is honest, and, next to Fevzi Pasha, probably carries most weight in Turkish military circles.

Falih Rifki Bey

Born in 1894 at Constantinople, where he was educated. Was secretary to Cemal Pasha in Syria during the war, after which he took up journalism and for a time wrote articles for the Ententist "Aksam." In 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal and wrote for the Nationalist press. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Bolu, and in the 1923-27 Assembly was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In the summer of 1927 he went to Rio de Janeiro as chief Turkish delegate at the International Parliamentary Congress, and returned deeply impressed by the advantages to be derived from an Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to a Latin, education. Throughout 1928 he continued to be in great favour, and in May was one of the Turkish delegates to the International Press Congress at Cologne. On his return he became president of the Commission for the Reform of the Turkish Alphabet and, after the Gazi, has probably done more than anyone else to secure the general adoption of the new script. He is one of the editors of the "Hakimiyeti-Milliye" and a former director of the Anatolian agency. In September 1930 visited Moscow in the company of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Falih Rifki Bey is at the same time the youngest and the wildest of the President's boon companions. He is frank, has a fair knowledge of French, and is an ardent Westerner. Has tremendous driving power but is a heavy drinker, and this and other excesses are, unfortunately, already beginning to tell their tale. An excellent bridge player. Wife, though not without intelligence, is undistinguished and lives mostly in Constantinople.

Ferit Bey, Ahmet.

Born at Brusa in 1875. Passed through Harbiye Military College in 1898 with rank of captain. Later went to Paris and studied at School of Political Science. Only returned to Turkey after 1908. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became Deputy for Katahya. In 1910 joined the Entente liberale party and was exiled by the Committee of Union and Progress, in 1913, to Tripoli, where he met his future wife. He made his peace with Talat Pasha in 1915 and became consul-general at Kiev in November 1917. Recalled in December 1918, he resumed attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress. In

1919 was Minister of Public Works and of Finance under Damat Ferit Pasha. He resigned in July owing to his desire to reach an understanding with Mustafa Kemal. Joined the Nationalist cause in April 1920, was immediately elected a Deputy in the Angora Assembly, and soon afterwards became Minister of Finance. In September 1920 attended the Baku Congress and soon afterwards appeared rather pro-Bolshevik. In November 1921 was appointed representative of the Angora Government at Paris, which post he held till February 1923, when he was recalled because of certain offensive remarks made regarding the Allies. In spite of opposition in the Assembly, he became Minister of the Interior in October 1923. Was the subject of many attacks both in the Assembly and the press, but continued to hold the post till May 1924. Appointed Ambassador at London in June 1925. Was summoned to Angora in December 1930, with his colleagues at Paris and Berlin, to consult with the Government and the Gazi on the financial and general situation, when it was rumoured that he would be appointed Minister of Finance in place of Saracoglu Şükrü Bey

Ferit Bey speaks good French and Arabic. A thorough opportunist and rather unscrupulous. Wife is attractive and has helped him to make something of a success of the London Embassy.

Fethi Bey, Ali.

Born at Ohrid, Macedonia, in 1877. Graduated from military school in Constantinople in 1903 and saw service in Macedonia. Became an ardent Committee of Union and Progress adherent and took charge of Abdulhamit on the expulsion of the latter to Salonica. 1910–13, military attaché at Sofia, and 1913–17, Minister there. Was for a short time Minister of the Interior in autumn of 1918, and soon after was deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in April 1921, he proceeded at once to Anatolia and became Minister of the Interior. In July–August 1922 proceeded on a mission to Paris and London. In 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and during two months was President of the Council of Ministers, which post he resigned on emergence of Republican issue. In November became first President of the Assembly. In March 1924 was regarded as being identified with the Opposition when the question of the President's powers was under consideration. In May chief Turkish delegate for Mosul discussions in Constantinople. Represented Turkey before the League of Nations in September, and later proceeded to Brussels again in connexion with the Mosul question. Became President of the Council for the second time, and in November also held the portfolio of Defence. His period of office was marked by moderation, and he had the support of the Oppositionist Progressive party. In March 1925, on the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt, his Government fell because of his alleged lukewarmness in dealing with the rebels, and in the same month he was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Paris. Resigned his post in August 1930, when he reappeared in Turkey as the founder of a new political party—the Liberal Republican—with the full approval of the Gazi, probably even by his order. To facilitate his entry into the Assembly, was returned unopposed as Deputy for Gümüşane. Was obliged, by failure of presidential support, to dissolve his party in November.

Fethi Bey has Mongol features. He is pleasant to talk to, speaks good French, and is essentially a moderate. He has an attractive wife. There is evidence that even from Paris he exercised no little influence at Angora, and a visit which he paid to the capital in 1928 had much to do with the Turkish acceptance of the Ottoman debt settlement.

Fevzi Pasha, Mustafa.

Born in Constantinople in 1874. Graduated from the military college in 1898. Saw service in Macedonia. From then until 1913 held numerous staff appointments. During the war fought at Gallipoli, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and was Chief of the General Staff, 1918–19. In November 1919 was sent on a mission to Anatolia by the Constantinople Government and established relations with Mustafa Kemal. Held the portfolio of War in Constantinople Government during February and March 1920. He was throughout in close touch with Mustafa Kemal, and on his resignation he went to Anatolia and was at once appointed Minister for National Defence. Played a large part in building up the Kemalist army and in organising transport and the production of ammunition. In 1921 he became for a time rather a back number, but later re-established his position and became Chief of Staff. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople, and since then has been annually reappointed Chief of Staff. Resigned his Deputyship in October 1924 on opting for military duties. In the autumn of 1927 was suffering from diabetes and went to Europe for a cure. Since then his health has much improved.

Fevzi Pasha had the confidence of Enver Pasha during the Great War, and is now understood to have that of Mustafa Kemal. Reputed to be a capable officer, especially in matters relating to administration. Regarded by Halide Hanum as a good soldier, but nothing more. Has considerable influence with the army. Was in his time a pan-Turanian as well as a pan-Islamist, and on the abolition of the Caliphate was regarded as the only rival of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, of whose manner of life he was understood strongly to disapprove. Was regarded as the leader of the war party at Angora during the Mosul crisis. Used to be regarded as old fashioned and kept his womenfolk secluded, but he is now seen more in public. Speaks a little French and is pleasant to talk to.

Hakki Sinasi Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1868, the son of a Foreign Ministry official. Studied first at the naval, and afterwards at the medical, school. Followed medical courses at Berlin, Heidelberg and Munich. While a doctor at the Hamidiye Hospital in 1904 was expelled to Anatolia. On his return in 1906 was reinstated with rank of colonel, and later promoted general. Retired in 1918, and from then till 1924 occupied himself with municipal affairs. Since November 1924 has been a Deputy for Constantinople, and was in 1927–28 chairman of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly. In September 1925 was Turkish Red Crescent delegate at the International Red Cross Conference at Geneva. In March 1928 became chief inspector of the People's party for Constantinople, and in the late summer mediated successfully in a Constantinople tramway strike.

Hamdi Bey, Mehmet.

Born about 1880. During the armistice was head of the Refugee Section of the Ministry of Interior in Constantinople. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Erzincan. In 1924 was assistant Turkish delegate for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations, and in 1923 became chief delegate on the appointment of Tevfik Rüştü Bey as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Negotiated the Turco-Greek Agreement of 1925, and in June was appointed Minister at Vienna. Short and stoutish, Hamdi Bey speaks French fairly well and is intelligent and moderate.

Hamdullah Suphi Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at Galata Saray College. In 1904 entered Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a clerk. Remained there till 1908, occupying himself in writing poetry. After the Constitution continued his literary efforts, and was the founder of a society of young poets which developed into the Turkish Ojaks. In 1910 appointed Professor of Turkish literature at the Constantinople University. Was for a time in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, but after the Balkan war was on good terms with the Unionists. Later became the leading propagandist of pan-Turanianism. Travelled in Germany during the war. In the early armistice was anti-British and pro-Italian. In April 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal at Angora. Later in the year was for a time head of the Kemalist Intelligence Service. January–April 1921, Minister of Public Instruction. In April became Vice-President of the Assembly, and occupied himself chiefly with the pan-Islamic Congress, then held in Angora. Was again Minister of Public Instruction during the latter half of 1921, and was one of the first of the Angora leaders to make a speech against the Sultan. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople and later president of the Turkish Ojaks, to which he devoted most of his time and energy. During 1923 was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and from March till December 1925 was again Minister of Public Instruction, resigning finally on grounds of ill-health. September 1927 re-elected for Constantinople, and is a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly. In October 1930 went to Athens as a member of the Turkish delegation to the Balkan Congress.

Hamdullah Suphi Bey is an idealist of the pan Turanian school, and is the moving spirit of the Turkish Ojaks. He is a keen moderniser, and does not believe that the Turk is a religious person. Is not possessed of means, and his honesty is above reproach. Is violently anti Russian; one of his sons is at the Constantinople Boys' School.

Hasan Bey.

Born in Trebizond in 1884. Said to be of Laz origin. Educated in Constantinople and in Paris, where, from 1909-14, he studied at the School of Political Science. During the war was head of the Economic Section of the Food Supplies Directorate, and in December 1919 became Deputy for Trebizond. Joined the Kemalist movement in March 1920, and in May 1921 became Minister of Finance, holding the post until April 1922. By this time he was apparently very pro-Bolshevik in sympathy. From May till July 1922, Minister of Economics and Public Works. In November was appointed member of the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne Conference, when he acted as financial expert. September 1923, was again Minister of Economics. In March 1924, Minister of Commerce, and in March 1925 again Minister of Finance, resigning in July 1926, ostensibly on grounds of ill health. Continued, however, to play an important part in Turkish financial matters. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November, when it was rumoured that he would re-enter the Ministry, he became first Vice-President of the Assembly. Was President of the Turkish Delegation to the Balkan Congress at Athens, October 1930.

Hasan Bey fancies himself as an expert in matters pertaining to finance. Knows French fairly well; is a man of private means, wily, and has a sense of humour. Not attractive personality. Probably a bully, has been described as something of an "apache" and most nearly answers the description when playing bridge, which he does very well. Has a young and attractive little wife.

Hasan Fehmi Bey

Born at Gumusane in 1877. Educated at Constantinople, and from 1902 to 1910 held various posts in the Turkish Civil Service. In 1910 Governor of Caresun (Kerasund), and in 1912 of Komotini (Gumuljina). 1913-18 Deputy for Gumusane. Joined Mustafa Kemal in April 1919. In 1920 Vice-President of the Assembly. In April 1922 was Minister of Finance. In 1923 elected Deputy for Gumusane. August 1923 till January 1924 again Minister of Finance, resigning because of a dispute over the Anatolian Railway question. November 1924 till March 1925, Minister of Agriculture. December 1925, became one of the Government delegates on the board of the Ottoman Bank. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927. In November of that year became chairman of the Finance Commission, and in November 1928 a member of the Constitutional Commission.

Hasan Fehmi Bey is not regarded as a strong man, and during his occupation of ministerial posts was little more than a nominee of Mustafa Kemal.

Haydar Bey.

Born at Philippopolis about 1885. Having completed his studies at Galata Saray College, he entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and remained there till 1911, when he became second secretary at Sofia. Attended the London Peace Conference in 1913 and then remained at Sofia until February 1919, when he returned to the Ministry. June-December 1919 was Director of Press, and in May 1920 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, retaining the post till the fall of the Constantinople Government in November 1922. Was a member of Turkish peace delegations to London in February 1921 and March 1922. Early in 1924 was a Turkish delegate for exchange of populations, and in August became first secretary in Berlin. In August 1925 was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen. In November 1928 was appointed Minister at Belgrade.

Haydar Bey is something of an intriguer and rather an opportunist, having tacked fairly successfully to the varying winds which have blown in Turkey during the last generation. He is, however, cultivated and good mannered, as well as able and intelligent. Strongly favours a close Bulgaro-Turkish friendship.

Hikmet Bey, Yusuf

Born in Constantinople about 1882. Educated at the Galata Saray College. Entered the Turkish Diplomatic Service and served as a secretary at Paris and Berlin. Returned to the Sublime Porte early in the armistice, but in 1920 went to Angora, where he at once became Political Director at the Foreign Ministry, and accompanied the Nationalist mission to Europe in 1922. In 1924 was counsellor in London, and in January 1925 again became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry. In the summer of 1925 he became Minister at Belgrade, holding the post till November 1927, when he became private secretary to the President of the Republic. In July 1928 was appointed Ambassador at Kabul where he has not been a success, but his position was made very difficult by the collapse of Amanullah and the consequent eclipse of Turkish influence.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey is short, dark, and somewhat insignificant in appearance. He is, however, intelligent. He has agreeable manners, and, in spite of slight deafness, was generally popular in Belgrade, where His Majesty's Minister found him pleasant to deal with. He might, nevertheless, turn out to be something of a mischiefmaker. Is said to be a voracious reader and collector of news, without, however, the capacity of digesting or even appraising his material.

Hilmi Bey

Early history unknown. Appointed Vali of Adana in 1925, and was soon afterwards fined by the Angora Independence Tribunal for failure to send certain witnesses from Adana to the capital. Later became local Popular Party Inspector. In September 1927 was elected Deputy for Adana, in October became a member of the executive bureau of the Popular party, and in November a member of the Internal Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Elected Vice-President of this Commission in 1928, reporter in 1929, and again Vice-President in November 1930. In December 1930 succeeded Zekâi Bey as Minister of Public Works.

Hulusi Fuat Bey

Born in 1885 at Constantinople. Member of the Turkish Diplomatic Service. Was employed at Berlin and Vienna during the war, and at Christiania in 1923, when he received an appointment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora. May 1924 became "chef du cabinet" of Adnan Bey, delegate at Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In October went to London as a member of the Turkish delegation in the Congress of the League of Nations Societies. Resigned in March 1925 for reasons unknown, though it was suggested that (1) he had outshone Nusret Bey, (2) he was not fully sympathetic with Angora. In May appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo. In September 1928 was transferred in the same capacity to Nanking.

Hulusi Fuat Bey is a son of "Deli" Fuat Pasha, and his wife, who is a pleasant woman, is an excellent linguist, and is a daughter of Mahmut Muhtar Pasha. He is pleasant to deal with, accustomed to European ways, enjoys a good cigar, not very clever, and believed to be fairly straight.

Huseyin Cahit Bey

Born at Constantinople in 1876. Took up the teaching profession, but in 1908 went over to journalism and became, till 1912, editor and part proprietor of the "Tanin," the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. From 1908 was one of the Constantinople Deputies in the Chamber, of which he became one of the vice-presidents during the war. Before the war was representative of the Turkish bondholders on the Public Debt. Played no great political part during the war, but at the armistice was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in April 1921, he spent the following year in Europe. On his return to Constantinople, he recommenced publication of the "Tanin," and, for a time, supported the Kemalist régime. Nevertheless, he kept in close touch with the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders, and gradually began to take a more independent line in his writings. By 1923 the "Tanin" had become the chief organ of the Opposition, and in December Cahit Bey was tried and acquitted for the publication of the Aga Khan letter. In April 1925 he was again arrested for his publications, the "Tanin" was suppressed and Cahit Bey was sentenced by the Independence Tribunal to life-time confinement in a fortress (Corum). He was again brought before the tribunal in August 1926 for alleged participation in the Smyrna plot, but was acquitted and soon afterwards released. In 1930 became President of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Industries and Mines.

Tall and [illegible], Cahit Bey was remarkable for his bitter satire and was feared by his enemies. Has written several poems and produced a number of scholastic books. His former power was doubtless derived partly from his association with Cavit and the Government seem to have brought him to terms.

Hüseyin Cevat Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1866. Educated at Galata Saray College, and entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1898. Appointed to Vienna (1899), Athens (1901), Cetinje (1905), Petersburg (1907), London (1909). Minister at Cetinje (1911) and at Belgrade (1913). 1917-19 was Minister at Stockholm, 1920-22 at Berne. In 1923 was appointed by Angora to Bucharest. Transferred to Paris in November 1924; his speech on presenting his credentials in February 1925 was [illegible] criticised in the Assembly and he was recalled. In April was appointed Minister at Athens. In December 1928 was appointed Ambassador at Tokyo.

Hüseyin Cevat Bey is tall, affable and very popular. Believed to be honest and well-[illegible]. Is rich and married to a [illegible] wife. Believed to be Anglophil in sympathy. He knows French and German well, speaks English, plays golf, and was responsible for its introduction into Montenegro.

Hüseyin Ragıp Bey.

Born about 1885 in Rhodes. A brother of Reşit Galip Bey. In 1923 was appointed [illegible] representative in Paris. Transferred to Bucharest in April 1925. Appointed Ambassador at Moscow in January 1929. Is a pleasant [illegible], speaks good French, and is well looked upon in the highest Angora circles.

Hüseyin Rauf Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1877. Educated at the Halki Naval College. Was for some years on the staff of Bucknam Pasha, and in 1910 became commander of the "Hamidiye," whose activities were famous during the Balkan war. At the outbreak of the Great War was in England supervising the building of the "Resadiye," of which he was to have had the command. Endeavoured to prevent Turkey's entry into the war. Was for a time chief of the Naval Staff, but spent most of the war period in Switzerland and Berlin. Was one of the Turkish signatories of the Mudros armistice, and for a month (October 1918) was Minister of Marine. During 1919 was in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Returned to Constantinople early in 1920 as the leader of the Kemalist Deputies in the newly elected Chamber, and in March was arrested and deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in November 1921, he immediately proceeded to Angora, becoming Minister of Public Works, but resigned two months later, probably owing to differences with Mustafa Kemal. March 1922 became Vice-President of the Assembly, and soon showed himself to be the leader of the Moderate party. In May he showed strong anti-Bolshevik sympathies, and, his prestige rapidly growing, he was in July elected by the Assembly to be President of the Council. At this time Mustafa Kemal was understood to be very jealous of Rauf's power. In November he became Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople. Resigned the presidency of the Council in August because of reported differences with Mustafa Kemal. On the Caliphate question in the autumn of 1923 Rauf Bey showed more than signs of opposition, and by October was the real leader of the Opposition. In November he resigned from the People's party and was elected a vice-president of the new Progressive party, which was abolished in March 1925. In the spring of 1926 he went abroad and in June was in London in company of Adnan Bey. In August was tried by default on charge of participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal and was

sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress. In the autumn it was understood that he was still engaged in Opposition activities. He is still abroad and ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. He was, however, the subject of severe strictures in Mustafa Kemal's lengthy review of the Turkish revolution in October 1927, strictures which made it clear that the President still thought him sufficiently dangerous to be worth attempting to discredit.

Hüseyin Rauf Bey is the leader of the Opposition to Mustafa Kemal. Speaks excellent English, and also French and German. Is essentially a moderate, and, prior to his deportation to Malta, was decidedly pro-British. As a result of his treatment, however, his feelings became very bitter, but, though these happenings still rankle, it is understood that this phase has now passed and that he has to some extent reverted to his pro-British sympathies. Is regarded by some as untrustworthy.

Hüsrev Bey, Ridvanbeyoğlu.

Born in 1884. A soldier *de carrière;* was military attaché at Athens at the outbreak of the Great War, and later served on the staff of the Caucasus army as an intelligence officer. During the early part of the Nationalist struggle was private secretary to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In February 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Mission to Paris, London and Rome. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Urfa. In May 1924 became Minister at Budapest. Later resigned his deputyship on opting for his Legation. In August 1926 was appointed Minister at Sofia. In July 1930 was appointed Ambassador at Warsaw, but did not proceed, and the following month was appointed Ambassador at Tehran.

Hüsref Bey is tall and good looking, and is a friend of the Gazi.

Ibrahim Tali Bey.

Born about 1885. An ex-army doctor by profession, and served in that capacity during the Great War. Came under the Gazi's notice at Diyarbekir in 1916 or 1917. Later became Turkish consul at Batum. In February 1924 it was rumoured that he would succeed Adnan Bey as representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, but, instead, he went to Salonica to investigate alleged abuses on the part of the Turkish consul there. In April was appointed Minister at Warsaw. January 1926 elected Deputy for Diyarbekir, and returned to Angora in the following month. In May became inspector-general of the People's party in Constantinople, and, as such, had very extensive powers. Took a prominent part in the 1927 elections and was himself again returned for Diyarbekir. In October became vice-president of the Executive Council of the People's party, and in November a member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. In December resigned his deputyship on being appointed inspector-general of the Eastern Provinces, with extensive powers. Has had considerable success in modernising the backward districts under his jurisdiction.

Ibrahim Tali Bey is a short, bullet-headed man and wears heavy glasses. He speaks French and a little English, and is cultured. Is pleasant in conversation, genial, tactful and broad-minded. Has been to Bombay, studies Anglo-Indian administration and makes his officials start work at 7·30 and stop at 1.

Ihsan Bey.

Born about 1880. Entered army in 1900 and served in Thrace. Was a major during the Balkan war. Retired in 1919 and was sentenced to death by the Constantinople Government, but escaped to Anatolia. He became Deputy for Cebelibereket in 1921. In December 1923 was president of the Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople in connexion with publication of the Aga Khan letter. Throughout 1924 he was one of the leaders of the extreme section of the People's party and his speeches gave rise to much comment. In December he became Minister for Marine, holding that post till November 1927. Was also a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly. In December 1927 was arrested on a charge of peculation in connexion with naval contracts, and after a three months' State trial was sentenced in April 1928 to two years' imprisonment. Was released in December 1929.

Ihsan Bey is a rough and disagreeable type. He speaks no European language.

Ihsan (Latif) Pasha.

Born about 1875 at Constantinople. Left military college as a staff captain in 1896. 1900–06 military attaché at Athens. Joined the General Staff as lieutenant-colonel in 1906. From 1908 till 1911 he served on the staff of the VIIth Army, being then appointed its chief. Later, recalled to the Imperial General Staff, was placed in command of Edremit Division in 1912, and in 1914 was transferred with rank of brigadier-general to the 34th Division at Erzerum. Was captured after the battle of Sarikamiş in January 1915 and sent as a prisoner to Siberia, whence he escaped in December, making his way on foot to China and from there returning by way of America to Constantinople. On his return he was placed on the retired list by Enver and took up the post of mayor at Yeniköy, on the Bosphorus. Brought back after the armistice, he became in 1919 a member of the Military Court of Constantinople, in 1920 Inspector of Prisoners of War, and in 1921 Director of the War Department This brought him in close touch with the Angora Government, and in December he became superintendent of their organisations in Constantinople. Though officially unemployed from November 1922, he was charged with the defence of Constantinople in the event of war between Turkey and the Allies. In July 1924 became Vali of Smyrna, in 1926 Deputy for Constantinople, and since 1927 has been a member (at the moment he is reporter) of the National Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Ihsan Latif Pasha is a thin, short man with ape-like features. He is something of an opportunist. He is married and has an American-educated, English speaking daughter. He has published an account of his escape from Siberia.

Ismet Pasha

Born in 1880 at Smyrna, where his father was a small landed proprietor. Educated at the military college, and from 1906–12 saw service in Thrace and the Yemen. Joined the General Staff in 1914. 1915–16 Chief of Staff of the Caucasus army. 1917–18 in Palestine, and became Under-Secretary for War in the autumn of 1918. Early showed Nationalist sympathies and joined Mustafa Kemal in March 1920, at once becoming Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces Assumed command of the western army in December 1920 and was chief Turkish delegate at the Mudanya Conference in October 1922. In the same month was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in November went to Lausanne as chief Turkish delegate. Signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of Turkey in July 1923, and in October became Prime Minister, retaining the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. At the same time, Mustafa Kemal delegated to him the functions of president of the People's party. During 1924, owing to his ill-health, his Administration became more and more unpopular, and he resigned in November On the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt in March 1925 he was again summoned to power by Mustafa Kemal, and has since been Prime Minister, though, in August 1925, it was rumoured that his relations with the Gazi had become strained owing to his opposition to the divorce of Latife Hanim. This rumour proved unfounded, and his position remained as strong as ever. In August 1926 he was promoted general of the first class, and in November 1927, after the general election, at which he was re-elected for Malatya, he reconstructed his Cabinet on more moderate lines. In 1930 his health was not good and he was subjected to much criticism, but defended himself strongly on formation of Liberal party in August. His triumph was again complete when Fethi Bey was forced to dissolve that party in November.

Ismet Pasha, in his army days, was regarded as an exceptionally capable staff officer, an indefatigable worker and was, to a large extent, responsible for the final Nationalist success against the Greeks in 1922. At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator. Is courteous and never shows signs of being ruffled, but suffers from deafness, which, however, he probably finds convenient at times. Is the only one of the prominent early Nationalist leaders who has retained the confidence of Mustafa Kemal and remains, as he has been for the last six years, the President's right-hand man. According to Halide Hanim (July 1926): "He subordinates himself entirely to the Gazi and only wants to hang everybody." Though this estimate is undoubtedly overcoloured, there is certainly a hard strain in Ismet Pasha's character, while, as regards the Gazi, it is probably truer to say that they make an admirable combination, Ismet Pasha not always being merely the organ of execution of reforms, but sometimes, at any rate, being even more thorough-going than his chief

Kâzim Pasha.

Born at Diyarbekir in 1879. Educated at the military school. 1904–8 employed at the Ministry of War. 1909–12, and again 1913–14, military attaché at Rome. 1915 Chief of Staff of the 1st Army at the Dardanelles, under Liman von Sanders, whom he accompanied throughout the war, and finally to Palestine. In November 1918 became director of the Military Council. Showed no violent anti-Ally feelings during the armistice, and in June 1920, after joining in an effort to secure a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople, joined Mustafa Kemal, though at the time expressing the continuation of his sympathy with Great Britain. In October 1920 was appointed Director-General of Administration of the Kemalist Western Army, and in October 1921 Under Secretary of National Defence. In 1922–23 was in command of the Turkish troops on the Çanak front. In October 1924 succeeded Cevat Pasha as an inspector of the IIIrd Army. In the spring of 1925 was in charge of the troops for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt, and in June resigned his military inspectorate. In August 1926 became Vali of Samsun. In November 1930 was forced to resign and summoned to Angora because of his impartial attitude during the municipal elections at Samsun, which resulted in the victory of all the Liberal party candidates

Kâzim Pasha was highly esteemed by Liman von Sanders, and is an industrious, well-trained and efficient officer. He is not a political intriguer, has moderate views and has never expressed a preference for any particular party. At Samsun he earned a reputation for energy and efficiency. He is friendly with foreigners, and was held in high esteem by the foreign colony at Samsun.

Kâzim Pasha Köprülü

Born at Veles (Köprülü) about 1884. Has followed a military career, and was early a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress. Held various commands in the eastern vilayets, and during the war was Director-General of Administration to Ali Fuat Pasha. In July 1919 was in command of troops at Balikesir, and there worked for the Nationalist cause. In the autumn raised irregular bands round Bandirma to support Mustafa Kemal, who appointed him Governor of the Balikesir area in January 1920. In June was given command on the northern front, and, after the battle of the Sakarya, was promoted Pasha, becoming, in the following month, January 1922, Minister of National Defence. Held this post till November 1924, when he became President of the Assembly In August 1926 was promoted to be divisional general of the first class. Following the general election in September 1927, at which he was again returned for Karasi, he was in November re-elected President of the Assembly, and has been re-elected each succeeding year.

Kâzim Pasha is fairly well educated and speaks a little French. He is considered to be tenacious though reasonable, but he does not strike one as a strong character. Has poor health. Is anti-German and anti-Bolshevik, and during the Nationalist struggle made it clear that he was anti-Greek as distinct from anti-Ally. Is believed to be influential, but is not an attractive personality. A keen poker player.

Kâzim Pasha, Mehmet.

Born about 1883 Fought in Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars, also in Great War in Austria (commanded a brigade against the Russians at Przemysl), at Gallipoli and Erzerum. At the armistice was Chief of Staff of IXth (Caucasus) Army. In 1925 he became sub-Chief of the Turkish General Staff. Was promoted General of Division in 1926, and in November 1928 was the chief of the Turkish military mission then sent to Afghanistan, but the mission came to nothing owing to the collapse of Amanullah. Given command of IVth Army Corps in June 1929. Now Inspector-General of Gendarmerie.

Kâzim Pasha has a precise manner of speaking, but is pleasant and reasonable. Supposed to be rather hidebound as regards military matters. He is married to a sister of the late Enver Pasha. Probably anti-Russian and pro-German. A great friend of Kemalettin Sami Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in Berlin.

Kâzim Karabekir Pasha

Born at Bitolis (Monastir) in 1878 of poor parents. Has throughout his life followed a military career. Held numerous staff appointments during the war. Immediately after the armistice was given command of the XVth Army Corps at Erzerum, where, in 1919, he established contact with Mustafa Kemal, definitely joining the latter in September. In 1919–20 was responsible for the consolidation of the Nationalist position in the eastern vilayets and for the repression of the Armenians. At the same time was closely in touch with Bolshevik agents. Was throughout inclined to act independently of Angora, and for a time his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained. In September 1921 represented Turkey at the Kars Conference, when he incurred the displeasure of Angora by adopting too conciliatory an attitude towards the Bolsheviks, and also, probably, because of his great influence in the eastern provinces. In 1922 was given full powers there, and for a time was in touch with Enver Pasha. Finally arrived at Angora in October 1922, and, after being for a time unemployed, probably owing to the jealousy of Mustafa Kemal, became one of the military inspectors. Elected Deputy for Constantinople in 1923, he resigned his military duties in October 1924. Joined the Opposition, resigned from the People's party in November, when he became president of the new Progressive party, which was suppressed in March 1925. He continued his opposition activities, and in July 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the Gazi, but was acquitted, probably owing to his influence with the army, which it was later stated wished to make him the leader of an opposition movement. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927, and was severely criticised in the Gazi's lengthy review of the revolution in October 1927. Since then little has been heard of him, though his influence, particularly with the army, still remains considerable.

Colonel Rawlinson says: "Kâzim Karabekir Pasha is the best example of a first class Turkish officer that I have met. Any army under him will be well commanded." Possessed of a naturally quick and bright intelligence, he is master of every branch of his profession, and most conscientious in the performance of his duties. Is straightforward, and much of the Nationalist success was due to his competent handling of the eastern army.

Kiliç Ali Bey.

Born about 1882. Before and during the war was an n.c.o. In 1919 he organised a tough lot of bashi bozuks at Balikesir. Next heard of in Cilicia in 1920–21, when he acted with great energy against the Armenians, thereby earning the sobriquet of "Kiliç" (sword). At the same time changed his name from Asaf to Ali, and became Deputy for Ayntap, which he still represents in the Assembly. In July 1924 assaulted Celal Nuri Bey with impunity in his office, and two months later accompanied Mustafa Kemal on his tour of the eastern provinces, an association much criticised at the time. Continued, however, to be one of the chief associates of the Gazi, and in March 1925 became a member of the Angora Independence Tribunal. In February 1927 wounded Salih Bey in a brawl arising out of the Swedish railway contract. The independence tribunals having been suppressed in March, Kiliç Ali devoted himself to his numerous commercial activities till the summer, when he was in attendance on the Gazi at Constantinople. In November was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow in connexion with the Russian revolution anniversary celebrations, and in the same month became a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and of the Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Kiliç Ali Bey's character is clear from his record. He is a brute and a bully, with no apparent compensating features. He is, however, influential, owing to his friendship with the Gazi, though outwardly at least that friendship seems to be subject to a good deal of ebb and flow.

Mahmut Bey.

Born about 1880. At one time, before the war, was tutor to one of the Imperial Princes. An army officer, he occupied his spare time in writing or translating military text books. Was an A.D.C. to Mustafa Kemal in the independence war. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Siirt. By 1926 had become chief editor of the semi-official "Hakimiyeti Milliye" (Angora), and "Milliyet" (Constantinople); was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and president of the fifth section of the Assembly. In November 1927 he became reporter of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Went to Paris and London, and was much pleased with his reception in London. He is also vice-president of the Turkish Aviation League and chairman of the board of the Iş Bankasi.

Mahmut Bey is one of the leading journalists in Turkey and the President's man of business. Is very influential, but not much seen in public. Speaks French well and is capable. Appearance is very oriental, of an almost negroid type.

Mahmut Esat Bey.

Born at Smyrna in 1886. Studied law in Constantinople and Switzerland, obtaining his degree in Fribourg in 1911. In 1912 established himself in Smyrna as a lawyer, and remained obscurely there till 1919. In May 1920 went to Angora, and in the following month was appointed Deputy for Smyrna and still retains this seat. In May 1922 published a violent article against the Sublime Porte and the Sultan, and in June became secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In July became Minister of Economics, holding the post till September 1923, when he retired to [illegible] and was understood to have become an Oppositionist. In March 1924 opposed the grant of veto and dissolution powers to the President of the Republic. In November became Minister of Justice, retaining this portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In August–September 1926 Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Tevfik Rüstü Bey at Geneva. In 1926 and 1927 he made several visits to Europe in connexion with the "Lotus" question, and was chief Turkish delegate before The Hague Tribunal in the summer of 1927, when the Turkish case was upheld. In 1930 became increasingly unpopular, and was accused of influencing the course of justice. His position became gradually weaker during the summer, and he was one of the chief objects of attack of Fethi Bey and the new Liberal party. Was not included in Ismet Pasha's Cabinet as reformed in September 1930.

Mahmut Esat Bey speaks French and German as well as Turkish and Greek. He is considered to be one of the best Turkish specialists in Constitutional Law. He showed great energy in the introduction of Criminal, Commercial and Civil Codes based on Western models, of which the last-named has revolutionised Turkish family life.

Munir Bey, Mehmet.

Born about 1875. Educated at the Mülkiye College and Law School at Constantinople. After obtaining his diploma of doctor of law, was appointed one of the assistant legal advisers of the Sublime Ports, holding this post till 1916, when he became chief legal adviser. As such attended the conference of Brzesć (Brest-Litovsk). Accompanied Izzet Pasha on the reconciliation mission to Anatolia in December 1920. At once placed his services at the disposal of the Nationalist Government, and became legal adviser. Was Turkish legal adviser at the Lausanne Conference, and returned to hold the post at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs till February 1925, when he was appointed Turkish Minister at Berne. Became Ambassador at Paris in August 1930.

Munir Bey is a pretty good lawyer and rather the simple old-fashioned kind of Turkish official. He has a reputation for honesty, and created a good impression on the British delegates at the Lausanne Conference.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Salonica, son of an Albanian father and Turkish mother. Had an entirely Turkish upbringing, and was educated at the Mülkiye school at Salonica and at the military college in Constantinople, from which he passed out with the rank of captain in 1905. In 1907 he was for a time exiled to Damascus. Receiving a staff appointment at Salonica, he early joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and was at Salonica when the Constitution was proclaimed. Soon after quarrelled with the Committee of Union and Progress. 1910–11 served in Tripoli; 1913 became aide-de-camp to the Heir Apparent and military attaché at Sofia. In October 1914 was given a command at Gallipoli and distinguished himself at Anafarta in 1915, when he alone saved the situation in defiance of

Von Sanders's orders. Later in the same year he fell foul of Enver and remained unemployed till 1917, when he was given a Caucasus command. In 1917-18 had twice command of the VIIth Army on the Palestine front, but quarrelled in turn with Von Falkenhayn, Liman von Sanders and Enver. In May 1919 was sent to Anatolia to stem the rising tide of nationalism, and on his arrival at Samsun immediately assumed leadership of the movement. On the 18th July announced his resignation from the army and devotion to the Nationalist cause, and on the 27th summoned the first Nationalist Congress at Erzerum. In November summoned the second Nationalist Congress at Sivas, and in December at Angora. During the following months he tried to dictate to the Constantinople Government and in April 1920 established an independent Government at Angora. In May became President of the First Assembly and proceeded to organise the Nationalist army. In 1921 received Russian and Afghan Ambassadors at Angora, and in November was vested with absolute authority for the prosecution of the war. Early in 1922 had some difficulties with Assembly, but his dictatorship was successively prolonged for limited periods, and with the Nationalist victory over the Greeks in August-September his ascendency was complete. In November secured from the Assembly the abolition of the Sultanate. This step gave rise to opposition in the Assembly, and he dismissed it in April 1923. In the following election Kemalist nominees were to a large extent elected, Mustafa Kemal himself becoming one of the Deputies for Angora. In August was re-elected President of the Assembly, and in October, on the emergence of a Cabinet crisis, had the republic proclaimed with himself as President. Early in March 1924 decreed the abolition of the Caliphate, though in the same month the right of veto was refused to him, while in April the supreme command of the army in time of peace was vested in the Chief of the General Staff. Since that time the President has inspired the policy of the Government and in all essentials controlled the Administration through his nominees. Though in many respects his policy is but a continuation of that of the Committee of Union and Progress, the drive which has put the recent great innovations through has been mainly his own. In August 1925 he divorced his wife, Latife Hanım, whom he had married in 1922, and in the same month he decreed the abolition of the fez. During the summer of 1926 a plot to assassinate him was "discovered" at Smyrna, and as a result a number of Opposition leaders were hanged. Early in 1927 his health showed signs of giving way, and he moderated his manner of life. He was also seen much more in public and his behaviour became more decorous. In the summer, after an absence of eight years, he at last visited Constantinople, and from there controlled the general election in September, at which only his nominees were returned. In October he made further history by delivering a six-day speech before a party congress, in which he reviewed the whole course of the Turkish revolution. In the following month he was unanimously re-elected President of the Republic.

In May 1928 the King of Afghanistan paid him an official visit in Angora, being the first head of a foreign State to do so. As in 1927, the summer was spent at Constantinople and was followed by an extensive provincial tour, during which the campaign for the reform of the alphabet was launched, and the Gazi, a title assumed after the victory over the Greeks, earned the sobriquet of "Professor in Chief." In the autumn of 1930 his position became delicate owing to his having encouraged the formation of the new Liberal party by Fethi Bey, who had to dissolve it some months later. Started on a prolonged tour of the provinces in November to investigate abuses and hear complaints.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is about 5 ft. 7 in. tall with a sallow complexion and steel-grey eyes with a fixed expression. Has strong regular features and is now inclined to stoutness. Possesses an impressive delivery in speech-making, but has little personal magnetism. He is a driver rather than leader of men, is jealous of superior brains and can brook no opposition, as the record of his life shows. From his early days he has been an excessive drinker, and is still given to excesses. Is however possessed of an iron will and constitution.

Mostafa Seref Bey.

Born in Burdur in 1881. A graduate of the Faculty of Law of Constantinople and Paris. Was director of the Law School at Konia, professor at the Turkish University. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce under the Imperial régime. Elected Deputy for Burdur. Took part in the Lausanne Conference.

Lately one of the Turkish delegates for the negotiation of commercial treaties. Appointed Minister of National Economy in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet, September 1930.

The toughest, because the ablest and best-informed, of the commercial treaty negotiators, and can become bitter under the influence of controversy, but at other times displays a genial if shy bearing.

Naci Pasha.

Born at Bitolj (Monastir). Passed out of Constantinople Military School with rank of second lieutenant of infantry in 1893, and went to Germany for a course of military studies. Teacher of military manœuvres from 1897 to 1909. Commanded school for reserve officers at Beylerbey until its suppression in 1912. In February 1913 appointed director of studies at the Constantinople Military School. In February 1915 was made director of the training camp at Erzerum, and in 1917 joined the General Staff of the Caucasus armies. In July 1918 appointed personal A.D.C. to the Sultan (Mehmet VI Vahidettin), and retained the post until April 1920, though in sympathy with the Nationalist movement, for which reason he fell foul of the Grand Vizier Damat Ferit. Accompanied Salih Pasha on his mission to Anatolia, and joined Mustafa Kemal. In 1924 was head of a military mission to Britain, France and Poland. In May-June 1925 was in command of the Government forces at Diyarbekir for the repression of the Kurdish revolt of Sheikh Sait. In 1927 commanded the Vth Army Corps at Konya and was promoted Divisional General. In 1928 made the arrangements for King Amanullah's visit to Angora, and was to have gone to Afghanistan as military adviser, but Kâzim Pasha was sent instead. Thereupon resigned from the army, and was elected Deputy for Celelibereket. Was president of the National Defence Commission of the Assembly from November 1928 to November 1930, and is a member of the same commission since the latter date.

Naci Pasha is short, very dapper, possessed of pleasant but very formal manners and a refined and charming wife. Speaks French and excellent German.

Necmettin Sadik Bey.

Born about 1890. Owner and chief editor of the "Akşam" newspaper, published at Constantinople. Elected Deputy for Sivas in September 1927, and member of the Public Instruction Commission of the Assembly in November. Was one of the Turkish delegates to the International Press Conference at Cologne in May 1928, and in November was elected member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, a position which he still retains. Early in 1929 his paper published an attack on His Majesty's Ambassador on account of sympathy shown with the sufferers from a fire at Kurtulus (Tatavla), but later gave equal publicity to an explanation by Sir George Clerk. In November 1930 he accompanied as journalist the Turkish delegation to the Preliminary Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

Necmettin Sadik Bey speaks French and has pleasant manners.

Numan (Rifat) Bey, Menemenli.

Born in 1890, a son of Menemenli Zade Rifat Bey, ex-President of the Ottoman Senate, and on his mother's side a relative of Namik Kemal Bey. After passing through Galata Saray College, went to Switzerland in 1913 to study jurisprudence. On the outbreak of war entered the Harbie College as a cadet, but through his father's influence obtained in February 1915 the post of third secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna. Transferred in 1916 to Berne, where he remained until transferred to The Hague some years after the war. Appointed first secretary at Athens in 1926, and in August transferred to Budapest as Chargé d'Affaires. After serving for a time as consul-general at Beirut, was in June 1928 appointed Director General of the First Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in June 1929, in which post he completed the work of reorganisation initiated by his predecessor, Enis Bey.

Numan Bey is slight, somewhat stooped, dark-haired and sallow-complexioned. Has very indifferent health. Quiet and retiring, but very intelligent and efficient, friendly and straightforward. Speaks excellent French, and plays a good game of bridge. Married a French-Swiss lady, now deceased.

Nurettin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1875. On leaving the military school in 1894 became an aide-de-camp to Sultan Abdulhamit, remaining at the palace till 1909. During the war fought at the Dardanelles and commanded in Iraq, where his success is said to have aroused the jealousy of Enver. Became Military Commandant of Smyrna in 1918 and Vali of the town in February 1919. In May 1920 offered his services to bring about a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople. Joined Mustafa Kemal in the following month. In command of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas in April 1921, but was dismissed in November for hanging certain Kurdish chiefs. In September 1922 was in command of the 1st Army, which captured Smyrna, and as Governor-General of the town can hardly escape responsibility for the burning of it. At this time was opposed to the extreme section of the Nationalists, who favoured radical dynastic changes, and by the end of the year he had become unpopular with Mustafa Kemal. Throughout the winter, however, he had command of the Turkish troops in the Izmit sector. In July 1923 was dismissed from the command of the IIIrd Army, and owing to his Opposition tendencies, failed to secure election as a Deputy. He retired to Brusa, and remained there till December 1924, when he was elected Deputy, even though standing as an Oppositionist. In the following month his election was invalidated on technical grounds, but at a new election he was returned almost unopposed. In November 1925 he spoke strongly in the Assembly against the law making the wearing of the hat compulsory, but thereafter took no part in its debates, and in September 1927 ceased to be a Deputy.

Nurettin Pasha is extremely deliberate and dignified in his manner. Is somewhat vain, but a capable soldier, straightforward and honest. Is one of the best Turkish chess players, old-fashioned, reactionary and out of sympathy with the President's modernising tendencies in Turkey

Nuri Bey, Mehmet.

Born about 1880

A former military attaché at The Hague. Was with Mustafa Kemal at Tripoli in 1911 and became his personal friend. Earlier history unknown. Elected Deputy for Kutahya in 1923, and again in 1927. In 1926-27 was a member of the Executive Bureau of the Popular party, and was elected to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly in 1927 and 1928. In August 1930 joined Fethi Bey's new Liberal Republican party, somewhat against the Gazi's wishes, and acted as its secretary general until the dissolution of the party in November, when he was appointed a member of the Administrative Council of the Is Bankasi (Business Bank).

Nuri Bey is tall, substantially built, and by no means forthcoming. Is a hard drinker, and until he joined the Liberal Republican party was one of the Gazi's most intimate and constant companions, and, as such, probably exercised a certain amount of influence. Owns house property at Angora.

Nusret Bey.

Born about 1878 of South Albanian origin. Educated at the Mülkiye College at Constantinople, after which he followed a course of jurisprudence at the law school. In 1903 became a clerk in the Legal Adviser's Department at the Sublime Porte. In 1916 became director of this Department. In 1921 accompanied Tevfik Pasha's delegation to London in the capacity of legal adviser. Was in the Turkish delegation at Lausanne. Continued to share with Munir Bey the duties of legal adviser of the Angora Government until 1924, when he was appointed representative in Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. As such he was always ready to take reasonable views and in so far as his limited powers allowed him, he was helpful. In June 1927 he resigned his Constantinople appointment on being appointed President of the newly constituted Council of State.

Nusret Bey gives lectures at the law school on international law, on which he is regarded as something of an authority. Is of a very quiet and studious disposition, and his chief pleasure consists in the perusal of legal works in French. Is personable and courteous, but in Constantinople his bugbear was social functions in Pera. His womenfolk remain in seclusion

Nusret Sadullah Bey.

Born about 1875, the son of Sadullah Pasha, at one time Ambassador and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Studied at the Galata Seray College, Constantinople, and at Vienna. Entered the diplomatic service, and served at Berlin and Vienna, until about 1900 he became assistant legal adviser to the Sublime Porte. Owing to bad health was for some years unemployed, but in July 1913, after having been a Deputy for a few months, he became Minister in Belgium and afterwards at The Hague, where he remained until 1923. In 1925 he became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry, but resigned in 1926 for reasons of health. In September 1927 became Deputy for Samsun, and two months later member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. Appointed Minister at Belgrade in February 1928, he resigned his deputyship, but was re-elected in October, ill-health having made it impossible for him to take up his new diplomatic post. Re-elected member of Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly in November 1930.

Nusret Sadullah Bey is cultured and very popular, both in European and Turkish circles. He is also capable, but his poor health—a hereditary weakness, both his father and brother having committed suicide during fits of temporary insanity—has prevented him from attaining the distinction to which he would otherwise appear entitled. Was married to an Egyptian Princess, now deceased; the daughter of the late Halim Pasha. Has recently married a charming Turkish lady, very much younger than himself. Is not a politician.

Ragip Raif Bey.

Born in 1874, the son of Raif Pasha. Entered Turkish Foreign Office in 1897, went to London in 1901 and later to Berne, Brussels, Washington and again London, where he was counsellor in 1914. Remained in Europe during the war, and after it was Minister at Madrid. In 1927 became political adviser at Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and in January 1929 was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen and Helsingfors.

Ragip Raif Bey shows distinct traces of Arab blood, and has a somewhat coarse appearance. Speaks English well, and is a good talker, but is addicted to drink, and when in liquor often indulges in indiscretions which are generally amusing and sometimes interesting.

Rahmi Bey.

Born at Salonica in 1874, his father being a rich Macedonian landowner. Studied at the military college at Constantinople and at the schools of law and political science in Paris. While in Paris he came in close contact with the Young Turks, and at the Constitution was elected Committee of Union and Progress Deputy for Salonica. A close friend of Talat Pasha and a most influential member of the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1914 was appointed Vali of Smyrna, holding the post right through the war. Fanatical in his hatred of the Greeks. Made a show of his anti-German feelings throughout. His treatment of better-class foreigners was good, and Armenians suffered less at Smyrna than in any part of Turkey, but he gave the Maltese colony a bad time. In 1919 was arrested for political reasons and deported to Malta, and on his release in 1921, proceeded to Europe. Returned to Smyrna in 1924 and took a retaining fee from British firms, but was unable to secure election as a Deputy there in December owing to his pronounced Opposition sentiments. Continued to be identified with the Opposition movement, and in the spring of 1926 proceeded to Russia. In August was tried by default for complicity in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, and was sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress.

Rahmi Bey is extremely clever. He is specious, but untrustworthy. At Smyrna he showed himself to be a man of energy, and his position was so strong that he was able to act in almost complete independence of Constantinople. Gained large sums from profiteering at Smyrna. Must still be regarded as one of the leading Oppositionists, and would almost certainly take a prominent place in the event of the overthrow of the present Turkish régime. Bitterly resentful of his internment at Malta. Well known to the British colony at Smyrna

Rahmi Bey, Mustafa

Born about 1880 at Smyrna. Nothing known of his early history, except that for a time he was a finance official. Since 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. Became Minister of Commerce in May 1926, and in November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, retained that portfolio, combining with it that of Agriculture. Was not a success in this post owing to complete lack of business capacity. Resigned on grounds of ill-health in May 1929. Elected member of the Economic Affairs and Accounts Commission of the Assembly in November 1930.

Rahmi Bey is a big, burly man, who speaks nothing but Turkish. He rarely shows himself in public, but officially is courteous and helpful.

Recep Bey (Mehmet)

Born about 1880. An ex-army officer. In 1922 became secretary-general of the People's party, and as such had considerable power. July 1923, Deputy for Kütahya. May 1924, became Minister of Interior and resigned from the secretaryship of the People's party. In the autumn of 1924 was considered one of the leading men of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet and a likely candidate for the premiership, but was maintained in his post on Fethi Bey becoming Prime Minister in November. In January 1925 resigned owing to his objections to the Cabinet proposal to appoint prefects by election, and resumed his post as secretary-general of the People's party. In March, on the return of Ismet Pasha to power, became Minister for National Defence. Early in 1927 his influence was said to be on the wane. He was re-elected Deputy for Kutahya in 1927, but ceased to hold ministerial rank when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November, and a few days later became Chairman of the Defence Commission of the Assembly. October 1928, became Minister of Public Works, but was not re-appointed on reformation of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in September 1930.

Recep Bey was unknown until the later years of the Nationalist struggle and owed his position to his friendship with the President of the Republic. A big, burly figure, he is said to be ambitious, with a perpetual desire to become Prime Minister. He is, however, something of an extremist.

Refet Pasha

Born in 1877 at Trnovo. 1898-1908 was employed in the gendarmerie in Macedonia. Commanded the gendarmerie battalion of the Army of Liberation in 1908. Went to the staff school in 1911, and was sent to Damascus in 1912. Became famous as the defender of Gaza in 1916, and 1918 received the command of the XXIIIrd Army Corps in Palestine. At the armistice was appointed commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie, and in May 1919 commander of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas. Landed at Samsun with Mustafa Kemal, and immediately became one of the latter's chief lieutenants. In September commanded the Nationalist forces at Konya, and in March 1920 was appointed commander on the Aydin front. In September was appointed Minister of the Interior, holding the post till April 1921. After holding various commands, was Minister of National Defence from July 1921 to January 1922. After the Mudanya Conference was appointed Governor of Thrace, but remained in Constantinople, where he rapidly overthrew the Sultan's Government and established Nationalist authority. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and soon afterwards resigned his appointment, which no longer had any *raison d'être*. In the autumn began to show Opposition tendencies over the proclamation of the republic, and was in close touch with the Caliph and Rauf Bey. Resigned his deputyship in May 1924 and thereafter lived quietly in Constantinople, though maintaining close touch with Rauf and other Opposition leaders. In October withdrew his resignation of the deputyship, publicly joined forces with the Oppositionists, resigned from the People's party and became one of the leaders of the new Progressive party. In July 1926 was tried at Angora for participation in the alleged plot against the life of the President of the Republic, but was acquitted supposedly because of his prestige with the army. In October he announced his abandonment of political life, and in November finally resigned his deputyship.

Refet Pasha is one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders and of considerable political ability. In 1922, at Constantinople, showed himself to be an extremely keen and clever tactician. Though his private life is not above reproach, he can hardly fail to play a prominent part in any future Opposition movement in Turkey.

Refik Bey, Dr.

Born about 1878. Studied at Stambul medical school and in Germany, and later practised medicine. Was an early supporter of Mustafa Kemal, and from 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Beyazit in the first Angora Assembly. Since 1923 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople. Except for the period November 1924 to March 1925, when Fethi Bey was Prime Minister, Refik Bey has been Minister of Health since October 1923. He has discharged the duties of his post with marked ability, and the great improvement in Turkish sanitary conditions and the successful draining of the Angora marshes are outstanding tributes to his ability and energy. His Ministry is easily the most efficient of all the Turkish official Departments. Is chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Turkish Red Crescent. Paid official visits to the United States of America and London in 1929.

Generally known as "Dr. Bey," Refik Bey is rotund and beaming, behind his enormous spectacles, and is universally popular. Not much seen in public, he is particularly fond of bridge, at which he is an indifferent player. Speaks fair French. Is unconcerned with politics, and is almost exclusively taken up with his work. Is probably a martinet in his Department. Is now, unfortunately, in poor health.

Resit Galip Bey

Born about 1887 in Rhodes. Studied at the medical school, Constantinople, and later followed medical courses in France and Switzerland. Joined the Young Turk movement on his return, and afterwards held numerous posts as an official doctor. Was municipal doctor at Mersin during the French occupation. Has been Deputy for Aydin since January 1925, and from March 1925 till its suppression in March 1927 was a member of the Angora Independence Tribunal. Was understood in 1926 to have insisted on the hanging of Cavit Bey against the opinion of his colleagues. Is a member of the Central Committee of the Turkish Ojaks and of the Executive Council of the People's party, and is secretary of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly. In August 1930 joined the new Liberal party on its formation, but later declared himself to be an independent.

Resit Galip Bey is of rather a good type and pleasant in conversation, but is showing signs of coarsening. He is a brother of Hüseyn Ragip Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow.

Reşit Saffet Bey.

Born at Constantinople about 1883. Began life as translator in the Tobacco Régie. Later entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and was secretary in the Legations at Bucharest, Washington, Madrid and Tehran. During this period became a member of the C.U.P. On the outbreak of the Revolution of 1908 was appointed Director of the Private Council of the Ministry of Finance and became secretary to the Minister, Cavit Bey, who at various times sent him as propagandist agent to London, Paris, Rome, and, particularly during the Great War, Vienna and Berlin. On the signature of the armistice in 1918 became counsellor of the Turkish Legation at Berne, where he engaged in panislamic agitation and wrote anti-British articles in the local press. On his return to Constantinople in October 1919 opened a branch of the Swiss Society for the Defence of Ottoman Rights, and became one of the directors of panislamic activity. Later he turned to panturanianism, and became one of the most indefatigable discoverers of affinities between the Turkish race and the principal civilised peoples of the world. Worked for the extreme wing of the Nationalist party, but in 1921 lost the favour of Mustafa Kemal for a time. In October 1922 was appointed secretary-general of the Turkish Peace Delegation at Lausanne. In 1925 was adviser to Turkish delegate for the liquidation of the International Board of Health, and showed himself pugnacious and occasionally insolent. Made grave accusations against the British delegate and was obliged to resign

Elected Deputy for Izmit in September 1927, and member of the Commerce Commission of the Assembly in November. In June 1928 was one of the Turkish delegates to the International Inter-Parliamentary Congress at Paris, and visited Russia in 1929, returning much impressed by his experiences. In October 1930 he went as member of the Turkish delegation to the Balkan Congress at Athens, and in January 1931 to the Balkan Conference at Salonica. Is president of the Turkish Touring Club, in which capacity he has done much to secure the abolition of some of the more troublesome restrictions on the movement of foreigners, and since November 1930, a member of the Finance Commission of the Assembly.

Reşit Saffet Bey speaks French and understands German. Is well versed in finance and very ambitious. Has been described as a man of no character, and is not above making improper advances, when under the influence of liquor, to distinguished female visitors.

Ruşen Eşref Bey.

Born in 1893 at Constantinople. Before the war taught in the English boys' school in Constantinople. Was associated with Mustafa Kemal from the inception of the Nationalist movement and was a member of the first Angora Assembly. Has been a Deputy for Afyon Karahisar since 1923. Has never occupied any prominent official position, but has for years been one of the Gazi's most intimate friends. 1925–27, was secretary of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission, and for the last three years has been the chief secretary of the Assembly. In the summer of 1927 he represented the Turkish press at an international congress in London, whence he returned deeply impressed by English education, industry and culture. In June 1928 was a delegate to the International Parliamentary Congress in Paris, and on his return took a prominent part in the campaign for the reform of the alphabet. Was one of the Turkish delegates at the Balkan Congress at Athens in October 1930.

Ruşen Eşref Bey is an attractive personality. He is cultured and speaks remarkably well. Has read extensively and is extremely intelligent, but is probably constitutionally lazy, and, though fond of writing and gifted with great fluency, tends to work in spurts. Has lately been engaged on translating standard Western authors. While accused by some of insincerity, he is excellent company, is very fond of bridge, and has a pleasant wife, whose good looks and other attractions place her well ahead of other ladies in Angora society.

Sabri Bey Mehmet.

Born about 1883. Before the war was a small post office employee. During the war was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress, and for his activities in this connexion was deported to Malta in 1919. He returned, and became in 1922 Director of Posts and Telegraphs at Angora, and went to Germany, where he studied wireless. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Saruhan and in August became first Vice-President of the Assembly. In March 1925 became Minister for Agriculture. He was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, but ceased to hold office in November on the suppression of the Ministry of Agriculture as a separate Department. In the same month he became a member of the Assembly Budget Commission, and in November 1928 chairman of the Assembly Accounts Commission. In February 1929 was appointed Minister at Bucharest, but resigned in 1930 in order to become a Deputy again. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the Balkan Congress at Athens in October 1930, and next month was elected member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly.

Sabri Bey has a rough but genial manner. He has great ideas about developing agriculture in Turkey. In November 1925, during a visit to Moscow he gave evidence of strong pro-Russian sentiments.

Saffet (Ziya) Bey.

Born about 1885. A former staff colonel. Was on the staff of Izzet Pasha in the Yemen in 1912. During the war served at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia. In 1920 was military attaché at Moscow. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Izmit. Since March 1925 he has been secretary-general of the People's party, and as such has exercised much power and influence. He has complete control over the party, and was responsible for the arrangements for the complete success of the Kemalist nominees in the general election of September 1927, he himself being returned for Erzincan. Since November 1927 he has been president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month he headed a Turkish mission to Moscow for the celebrations in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Soviet revolution. From there went on to Paris and London. In the autumn of 1930 and winter of 1931 was busily engaged in reorganising the Popular party.

Saffat Bey is probably a *donme* (Islamised Jew), and is extremely capable, but is possibly just as untrustworthy. He is, however, friendly and sociable and a good bridge player. A close friend of the Gazi, he is extremely ambitious, and may be expected to go far.

Salih Bey.

Born in 1881. Passed through the Military School and was a great friend of Mustafa Kemal, both then and after. Was with him at Tripoli in 1911. Joined the Nationalist movement at the outset and became chief A.D.C. to the President. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Yozgat, and continued to be one of the Gazi's boon companions. In 1926 began to show nervousness regarding the future. In March 1927 was involved in a brawl with Kiliç Ali Bey arising out of baksheesh for Swedish railway concession, and was shot in the leg. By this time his influence was on the wane. In June he suddenly returned to favour and was in close attendance on the Gazi at Constantinople during the summer, as also during the summer of 1928. Re-elected Deputy for Yozgat in September 1927, and since November of that year has been a member of the National Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Salih Bey speaks only Turkish, but is pleasant to talk to. Is a hard drinker.

Suat Bey.

Born in 1878. Studied law in Paris, and in 1912 became secretary at the Sublime Porte. Was a protégé of Talat Pasha, and quickly became head of the Consular and Commercial Department. During the armistice was Director-General of Administration at the Porte, but resigned on the fall of Ferit Pasha. In 1923 became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Angora, and in 1924 representative at Rome. Appointed Ambassador there in April 1925.

Suat Bey is a somewhat aggressive and tiresome person to deal with.

Şakir Bey.

Born at Veles about 1882. Educated at Constantinople, and early entered the service of the Ministry of Interior. Was for a time secretary of the Adrianople Vilayet and later became Kaymakam of Ardahan. Became Deputy for Gallipoli in 1920, and throughout the armistice was one of the moving spirits of the Kemalist movement in Thrace. In 1921 was the unofficial Kemalist agent in Sofia, but continued to devote most of his attention to the Thracian movement. In October 1922 he was appointed Vali of Adrianople and established the Kemalist Administration there. Early in the following year he transferred his activities to Constantinople, of which he was for a time Vali. Has been Deputy for Adrianople since 1923, and for the last three years chairman of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. He is also a member of the executive bureau of the People's party. In May 1929 became Minister of National Economy, but lost the appointment on the reformation of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in September 1930.

Şakir Bey is a man of wide education, speaks several European languages and has travelled much in Europe. He has some reputation as an administrator, and for the last few years has taken a prominent part in Turkish financial and economic matters, being connected with the Alpullu sugar refinery.

Serki Bey, Ali.

Born in Constantinople about 1884, the son of a majordomo of Tevfik Pasha, who saw to the education of his retainer's son at the Galata Saray College, and in 1905 secured him a post in the Foreign Ministry. Accompanied Tevfik Pasha on a mission to Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg in 1909. Returned to the Ministry and in 1914 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding this post throughout the war. Accompanied Tevfik Pasha to the Paris Peace Conference in 1920 and was later in the year appointed Minister at Stockholm. In 1922 was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Izzet Pasha in the last Constantinople Government till the collapse of the latter in November. Angora having need of his services, he was summoned to the capital; in 1925 was head of the Commercial Section of the Foreign Ministry, and in August 1926 became Under-Secretary, holding this post till September 1927, when he was elected Deputy for Tokat. In November he became a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. For the last few years he has been chief Turkish delegate for the negotiation of commercial and consular conventions with foreign States.

As his record shows, Şevki Bey owes everything to his venerable patron, Tevfik Pasha. He is short and uninspiring, but has a certain capacity. Has become much more expansive and affable since his election as a Deputy. Enjoys imperfect health

Sukrü Bey, Saracoğlu

Born about 1885. Nothing known of his early history. Since July 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. December 1923 became president of Foreign Affairs Commission of Assembly. November 1924 March 1925 was Minister of Public Instruction in Fethi Bey's Cabinet. In July 1925 became chief Turkisa delegate on the Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity visited Geneva in December 1926, and in the same month signed the Turco-Greek Convention. In May 1927 he was given charge of negotiations for purchase of Anatolian Railway, which was concluded in December 1928, and in November when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet, he became Minister of Finance As such, he was intimately concerned in the settlement of the coupons questions in 1928. In 1930 he came in for much criticism in connexion with the Turkish financial crisis, and one of Fethi Bey's principal objects in founding the new Liberal party was to get rid of him as Minister of Finance In this he failed but Sükrü Bey resigned in December on account of ill health

Sükrü Bey is delicate in appearance, and is probably a Moderate. Is believed to be very capable, has plenty of drive, is popular and was on excellent terms with his Greek opposite number in exchange matters. He has acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs during one of Tevfik Rüstü Bey's numerous absences abroad. Is canvassed as a possible Ambassador in Warsaw or chairman of the new State Bank, when his health permits.

Sukrü Kaya Bey.

Born about 1884 at Kos, where he still owns property. Before the war was an official of the Ministry of Justice, and in 1914, as a civil inspector, accompanied the Embassies' delegates who enquired into the Greek deportations around Smyrna. Was then of advanced ideas and a protégé of Talat Pasha. Was deported to Malta in the early armistice, and on his liberation identified himself with Mustafa Kemal. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the first Lausanne Conference. Mayor of Smyrna in 1923, when he was a failure. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Mentese, which he still represents. In March 1924 charged with deposit of the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, and went to Paris and Berne. In the same month became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In August became Minister of Agriculture, and in November Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in March 1925 and was reappointed president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, holding this post till the autumn of 1927. During this period he exercised considerable influence over Turkish foreign policy. In November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, he became Minister of Interior, and quickly effected drastic administrative changes, more particularly in the eastern provinces, where he caused the military régime to be suppressed in December Was Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in September-October 1930 during Tevfik Rüştü Bey's official visit to Moscow.

Şükrü Kaya Bey is a coarse but vigorous personality, and is by no means unintelligent. Not too well liked by other leading Turks, who regard him as a *poseur* Is a hard drinker and an intimate counsellor of the Gazi

Sukrü Nayli Pasha

Early history unknown. Elected Deputy for Kirklareli (Kirk Kilise) in 1923. In October of that year was in command of the Turkish troops which entered Constantinople after the Allied evacuation, and has ever since been in command of the IIIrd Army Corps stationed at Constantinople. In October 1924 resigned his deputyship on opting for military duties. Promoted Divisional General in August 1926. Is in command of all the military schools in the Constantinople district.

An intelligent and up-to-date soldier, with pleasant manners and a European outlook.

Tevfik Bey, Colonel.

Born about 1880. Mother a Bagdadi, father a Turk. Left the military school in 1908, and in view of his marked intelligence proceeded direct to the Staff College, when he graduated in 1912 In 1914 he was appointed to the staff of the 19th Division, where he served under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Later he served in the Caucasus, and was on the staff of Ismet Pasha in Palestine. Joined the Nationalist movement at the beginning, and was appointed to the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence, with rank of colonel. Was Turkish military adviser at the Lausanne Conference 1922 23. In June 1924 became secretary to the President of the Republic, and held this post till November 1927, in spite of Ismet Pasha's efforts to appoint him to various missions abroad. He represented Turkey at the Arms Traffic Conference at Geneva in the early summer of 1925. In November 1927 was appointed Ambassador in Moscow, but only remained there till May 1928, when he was at Angora in attendance on the King of Afghanistan, whom he accompanied to Tehran. He there signed the Turco-Persian neutrality protocol, and on his return resumed his duties as private secretary to the President, who refuses to be without him. In November 1930 he was a member of the Turkish delegation at the Geneva Preparatory Disarmament Conference

Tevfik Bey is tall, fat and pleasant, and is completely identified with Mustafa Kemal. He speaks German, Russian and French. Always affable, his relations with the British delegates at Lausanne were very cordial. He is married, but keeps his womenkind in comparative seclusion

Tevfik Kâmil Bey.

Born about 1880 in Salonica and educated there. A career diplomat, but nothing is known of his early history. He was secretary to the Turkish delegation at the Second Lausanne Conference in 1923, and on his return to Angora became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As such he was charged with the negotiations of friendship treaties with several foreign countries, and gradually exercised increasing influence. Resigned in October 1925 on his election as Deputy for Constantinople, which he still represents. In 1926 he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and by his expert knowledge made his influence felt. In 1927 he was responsible for the drafting of a new and very important law on Turkish nationality. Represented Turkey at an International Cattle Plague Conference at Adana in November 1927 Elected one of the questors of the Assembly a year later. Soon afterwards succeeded Cemal Hüsnü Bey as chief Turkish delegate on the Mixed Exchange Commission, where he was a great improvement on his predecessor. Is a hard worker, and a pillar of strength of the Foreign Ministry, with which he is always in close contact

Tevfik Kâmil Bey is without doubt very capable. He is, however, shy and reserved, but when better known is pleasant in conversation and ready freely to express his views on questions which interest him

Tevfik Rustü Bey.

Born about 1885. Doctor in the sanitary service. In 1909 was secretary general of the Committee of Union and Progress Congress then held. Served as a doctor during the Balkan War, and was made prisoner by the Serbs. In 1920 was a member of a mission to Russia, and later, during the Nationalist movement, was the director of an Angora newspaper. Elected Deputy for Smyrna in

July 1923, was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission which considered the Lausanne Treaty. Later in the year was appointed president of the Turkish Commission for the Exchange of Populations, and early incurred criticism because of his alleged failure adequately to protect Turkish interests. Resigned in September 1924 over the "établis" issue, but subsequently withdrew his resignation and resumed negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Greek agreement. In March 1925 became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Proceeded to Europe on various missions, particularly in connexion with the Mosul question, and signed the Angora Treaty in June 1926. During the summer of 1926 his position was weakened owing to his relationship (brother-in-law) with the late Dr. Nazim, whose death sentence he endeavoured to have commuted, but this effect was apparently only temporary, and he again seemed fairly established when he met M. Chicherin at Odessa in November. During the following months rumours of his impending resignation were current, but these proved unfounded, and he retained his portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In March 1928 attended the Preparatory Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and during the year his position seemed to become steadily stronger. In September 1930 paid an official visit to Moscow. In November headed the Turkish delegation to the Preparatory Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and in December visited Signor Mussolini at Rome and was received by the King.

Tevfik Rushtu Bey is dishevelled in appearance and veils his features behind monumental dark glasses. He [illegible] volatile and voluble that he appears [illegible]. His real influence on Turkish foreign policy is difficult to determine, though his subservience to Ismet Pasha in public lends colour to the theory that he is content for the most part to take his orders from his superior.

Vasif Bey.

Born about 1885. In 1923 became Deputy for Saruhan and Public Prosecutor of Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople. In March 1924 became Minister of Public Instruction, resigning in November. June 1925 Minister at Prague and November 1927 at Budapest. In November 1928 became Ambassador in Moscow, but in January 1929 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and resigned his post. In February became Minister of Public Instruction for the second time, but resigned in April. Represented Turkey at the International Parliamentary Conference at Berlin in August. Is a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly.

Vasif Bey is tall and heavy in appearance. Is loud and genial and sometimes of a bully on occasion. Has shown conspicuous friendliness to His Majesty's Embassy and is reported to be the leader of the Anglophil camp. One of the Gazi's boon companions.

Yunus Nadi Bey.

Born 1878. Educated in Rhodes. Became a protégé of Abdin Pasha Dino, who put him in charge of his farms, but dismissed him after two years because of abuses. Emerged from obscurity in 1908 and became one of the Committee of Union and Progress members for Smyrna in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1911 became editor of the Committee of Union and Progress "Tasviri Efkâr," and in 1916 started the "Yeni Gün." In 1908 received £T 30,000 from secret Committee of Union and Progress funds. Was imprisoned soon after the armistice, but was soon released and published attacks on the Allies in his newspaper. On occupation of Constantinople in March 1920 he escaped to Angora, having for some time previously been in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Began publishing his paper there and became Deputy for Smyrna. In February 1921 was a member of the Angora peace delegation to Rome, Paris and London. In the autumn he fell foul of Mustafa Kemal because of his sympathy with Enver, but in 1922 was received back into the fold and for some time was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Throughout this period he wrote many Russophil articles and was a bitter Anglophobe. Has been Deputy for Mentese since 1923. In 1924 started the "Cumhuriyet" in Constantinople, and soon after the "Yeni Gün" ceased publication. Since 1923 has been president of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly, and 1926–27 was also a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In 1927–28 took the leading part in an enquiry into the peculations of the former Minister of Marine and Commerce, a curious

selection. Spent the summer of 1928 in Russia and Germany, and on his return markedly displayed his Russophil sentiments. In November became member of Executive Bureau of Popular party. In 1929 again visited Germany several times.

Yunus Nadi Bey is short and stout and wears pince-nez. He is intelligent and Turkey's best leader-writer, but is ready to tack to any wind; is an excessive drinker and an unscrupulous scoundrel, whose general behaviour disgusts even the Turks.

Yusuf Bey, Akçura (Oğlu).

Born about 1870 at Simbirsk in the Kazan Tartar region. Emigrated as a child to Turkey, where he received his early education. While still a youth was banished to Tripoli, whence he made his escape with Ferit Bey (now Turkish Ambassador in London) to Tunis and France. Studied in Paris, and on returning to Turkey worked as a journalist and was in close touch with Enver. Was a sedentary worker during the Turkish War of Independence. Elected Deputy for Constantinople in 1923 and again in 1927, when he also became member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly. Was about that time a leading member of a group of *intelligentsia*, which it was thought might crystallise into an opposition. Though he did not join Fethi Bey's Liberal party in 1930, there are indications that his critical attitude towards Government policy persisted unchanged. Elected member of the Economic Commission of the Assembly in November 1930. He has been closely connected with the development of the Turkish Ojak movement, and is a leading authority on pan-turanianism and the Turkish communities outside Turkey.

Yusuf Bey has at least once visited London, and is married to a sister of the present Turkish Ambassadress there (see above). Is a man of considerable culture and some distinction of personality. Speaks French and Russian.

Yusuf Kemal Bey.

Born in 1878 at Sinop. Entered the military school, but transferred in 1904 to the school of law, from which he graduated in 1905. Practised in Constantinople and was for a short time Deputy for Kastamoni, but in 1909 joined the Opposition. In 1910 resigned his seat and spent the following two years in Paris studying law. Throughout the war practised as a barrister in Constantinople. October to December 1919 was Under-Secretary for Justice, and on being sent on a mission of reconciliation to Anatolia, was won over to the Nationalist cause and did not return to Constantinople. Became Minister of Economics early in 1920. In 1920–21 proceeded on mission to Moscow and Tiflis and attended the Baku Congress. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in May 1921, and throughout his tenure of office was in close touch with Moscow. Proceeded to Paris and London as head of the Angora Peace Delegation in March 1922. Resigned in October, nominally on grounds of ill-health. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Sinop, and in the following month was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, which examined the Lausanne Treaty. In January 1924 became Turkish Ambassador in London, but resigned in May on opting for his deputyship. In November was a rival candidate to Kâzim Pasha for the presidency of the Assembly, but was defeated, and for a time took no prominent part in political life, being understood to be out of sympathy with the President of the Republic. From 1925–27 he was, however, reporter of the Justice Commission of the Assembly, and in 1927 accompanied the Minister of Justice to The Hague in connexion with the "Lotus" affair. He was re-elected Deputy in September and is now a member of the Economic Commission of the Assembly. In September 1930 became Minister of Justice in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet.

Yusuf Kemal Bey is a good speaker and nourishes Bolshevik sympathies, but only in so far as these do not clash with his ideals of Turkish nationalism.

Zekâi (Salih) Bey.

Born in Bosnia in 1878. A graduate of the Mülkiye School and became kaymakam and mutessarif. Was Deputy for Adana in the first Angora Assembly, and in 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's peace delegation to

London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Was a member of the Independence Tribunal.

Elected Deputy for Aydin in July 1923, he became Minister for Agriculture in March 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to London, but was recalled early in 1925 owing to his having, on his own account, proposed a direct deal over Mosul, which he was instructed by Angora to withdraw. In May was appointed Ambassador at Moscow, and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in September 1927 on his election (possibly not of his own volition) as Deputy for Diyarbekir. A member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In 1929, when all Powers were obliged by the denunciation of the Commercial Treaty of Lausanne to negotiate fresh treaties, was appointed chief of the delegation for the negotiation of commercial treaties. Appointed Minister of Public Works in Ismet Pasha's new Cabinet, September 1930, and Minister of National Defence in December 1930.

Zekai Bey carries, under a mop of grey hair, a perpetual expression of puzzled serenity. He is an industrious worker and a good chief, but of so narrow an outlook as to drive his subordinates to the verge of despair. He has been reported as being anti-British in sympathy in the past, and when in London alienated Turkish sympathisers by his lack of courtesy towards them. During the negotiation of the Anglo-Turkish commercial treaty he [illegible] slow in [illegible] and helped [illegible] the [illegible]. He [illegible] conversationalist.

Zeki Mesut Bey.

Born at Aydin in 1889. Graduated from the Constantinople Mulkiye (Civil College) 1910. Was a journalist [illegible] and twice went to Europe as a student [illegible]. In 1926 he was appointed [illegible] the Council of Education [illegible] 1927 director of the Mulkiye [illegible]. In September of that year was elected Deputy for Adana, and in November secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, of which commission he is still a member. In 1929 he took an interesting and prominent part in the discussion of foreign [illegible]. He is said to have contributed many articles to the semi-official press. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the Balkan Congress at Athens in October 1930.

Zeki Mesut Bey wears behind his glasses the strained expression of a short-sighted man who refuses to wear any. He is friendly, but not unduly communicative. He speaks good French.

E 650/69/44. No. [illegible]

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received February 9.)

(No. 57.)

Sir, *Angora, February 5, 1931.*

ON Monday evening, the 2nd February, the Grand National Assembly confirmed the [illegible] of the thirty-seven (not thirty-nine as originally announced) death sentences pronounced by the Menemen court-martial, and, in accordance with Turkish practice, the executions were presumably carried out yesterday. Of the thirty-seven condemned men, two, including the aged Sheikh Esat, the leading figure, have died in prison, and five were, under Turkish law, either too old or too young to suffer the extreme penalty, leaving thirty cases to the decision of the Assembly [illegible]. But contrary to the general expectation [illegible] my despatch No. 28 of the 21st January last, the National Assembly [illegible] as stern as the court-martial.

2. [illegible] observer, whether Turk or foreigner, were of the opinion that the sovereign authority in Turkey, that is the National Assembly, [illegible] to [illegible] except the [illegible] participators in the murder of [illegible] the civilised reputation of [illegible] that the Govern[illegible] interested [illegible] the

impression from the Prime Minister and several members of his Cabinet, who happened to be supping informally with me last night, that the Government had undoubtedly received a most unpleasant and unexpected shock, and were still under its influence and determined that the punishments should be of such severity as to deter any possible imitators of Sheikh Esat. For instance, I happened to observe to one of my guests that I had been struck, in reading the reports of the court-martial, by the fact that the accused were very largely old or elderly men, obviously too set in the old ways and too ignorant to grasp the ideals of the New Turkey, and one or two boys, dominated and over-awed by their elders, but that the ruling generation and the younger men who were learning to succeed it did not figure in the movement; from which I thought the Government could see that the country was, as a whole, imbued with their own spirit, and that the Menemen incident was merely an isolated case, such as might, indeed, in the actual circumstances of Turkey, almost inevitably would, arise from time to time and that there was no occasion for any serious misgivings. Rather to my surprise, my friend replied that it had only just missed being very dangerous, and he can be taken as voicing the general feeling of the Turkish authorities and the Assembly, a feeling which would account for the unexpected harshness of the sentences. And I would add that undoubtedly a serious factor in the nervousness exhibited by the Government has been the [illegible], and, still worse, definite refusal to obey orders of some of the local gendarmerie and troops. It will be interesting to see what treatment is meted out to these offenders, whose case is now to be tried by the court-martial.

3. In my despatch referred to above I drew attention to a tendency on the part of the press to discover the hand of Colonel Lawrence and the British Intelligence Service behind the movement. The aged Sheikh Esat, the leading figure of the whole business, in spite of all medical efforts, died two days ago in hospital at Menemen, and the president of the court-martial has issued a statement that on his death-bed the sheikh was preparing a declaration which would definitely have shown the connexion of Colonel Lawrence with the affair. This is in accord with the utterance of irresponsible journalists, and I have, therefore, drawn the serious attention of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to a statement which, fantastic though it is, may, owing to its source, give popular credence and do unnecessary harm.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

C 1292/88/19. No. 12.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received February 26.)

(No. 47.)

Sir, *Angora, February 16, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 12th February the Grand National Assembly approved, by a unanimous vote, the Græco-Turkish Treaty of Friendship, Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration signed at Angora on the 30th October last, the text of which was transmitted to you with my despatch No. 456 of the 9th December. The vote of the Assembly covered also the Græco-Turkish Protocol regarding the limitation of naval armaments, the text of which was transmitted with my despatch No. 418 of the 1st November last.

2. I enclose a French translation(*) furnished to me by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the speech delivered in the Assembly on this occasion by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. It will be observed that towards the end of his speech Tevfik Rüştü Bey pays a warm tribute to the part taken by Signor Mussolini and the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs in preparing the way for the Græco-Turkish rapprochement, and expresses the hope that Greece and Bulgaria may likewise succeed in reaching a satisfactory settlement of all their differences.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(*) Not printed.

E 1046/69/44 No. 13.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 3.)

(No. 60.)

Constantinople, February 23, 1931.

Sir,

AS foreshadowed in my despatch No. 37 of the 4th instant, all of those condemned to death for participation in the Menemen incident were duly hanged in the early hours of the morning after the sentences had been confirmed by the National Assembly, with one exception. While one group of prisoners was waiting before the gallows, a figure suddenly darted from their ranks, burst through the surrounding guard of soldiers and gendarmerie, and disappeared in the morning mist under a fusillade of bullets. For thirteen days the countryside was searched in vain, but then the starving, worn out fugitive entered a village in the neighbourhood and asked for bread and water. Inspired by visions of the reward of 1,000 liras offered by the Government and by fear of the death penalty incurred by anyone who might assist the man in any way, the villagers tied him up and handed him over to the police. He was forthwith taken back to Menemen the same evening and hanged at 4 in the morning, for the crime of having provided some food for the band of Dervishes as, bristling with arms and mad with [illegible] and fanaticism, they passed through his village.

2. The escape aroused not only great interest, but great sympathy throughout the country. Indeed, the man could scarcely have lived thirteen days in the mountains at this time of year unless he had found some to help him at peril of their lives, and even in Angora a hope was general that if the fugitive were ever retaken alive he would be pardoned or at least have his sentence commuted. The fact that this was not done bears out my impression recorded in my despatch referred to above, that the Government, or rather the Popular party, is determined to show, by the terror of its sentences, that it will brook no opposition. How far this is the Popular party bringing the Gazi to heel, or how far it is the Gazi seeking to obliterate the belief that he was the sponsor of Fethi Bey's short-lived Liberal party, it is difficult to say. I incline myself to the second view. In my despatch No. 28 of the 28th January last I observed that the general opinion was that the Turkish Government would content itself with hanging the actual murderers of Kubilay Bey. This opinion arose in part from the fact that the president of the court martial, when telling the first batch of prisoners that their sentences would only be communicated to them after confirmation by the National Assembly, added that most of them need not be too uneasy as to their fate. But he then went to pay his respects to the Gazi, who was visiting Smyrna on his tour through the country, and had a two hours' conversation, the result of which, there is little doubt, was the decision to show no leniency. It is noticeable, too, that the references, direct or indirect, which the Gazi has been making to the Liberal party during his tour of the country have been marked by a note of steadily rising condemnation. Thus in an important speech made at Adana a day or two ago, the Gazi made what almost amounts to a direct attack on Fethi Bey and his supporters. He said: "Those who try to deceive their fellow citizens and the nation and to induce them to work for the realisation of the illegal aims they follow have made use of every means. They have had recourse to every trick and every form of deceit. A certain activity has been manifested here" (in the Adana region) "and you know better than I who those are who have placed themselves in the forefront of the agitators. Those people have spoken at large about the great number of taxes, they have insinuated that the present régime suppresses religion, that we should return to the 'Seriat.' A man, a citizen, an individual belonging to a collective organisation, who would admit the eventual abolition of taxes or who can be led to admit it places himself in the situation of one who would ask for the destruction of society and the annihilation of the Government."

3. Moreover the cases that are now being tried by the Menemen court martial have practically ceased to have any connexion with the incident itself and are charges of membership of or association with anti-State religious sects or of the expression of Liberal party ideas. In short the victims of Menemen have suffered not for their own crimes but for the mistake which the Gazi now thinks he made in listening to Fethi Bey's opposition party.

4. No doubt the fierce measures taken by the Government will have for some time to come their due effect, but a feeling has been created through the country

at large that the vaunted justice and liberty of the revolution is of much the same quality under the republic as it was in the days of the Sultan in Stamboul. Sorrow for the fate of the fugitive Hussein may be largely sentimental, but there is also the feeling that anyone who offers the hospitality that is second nature to nearly every Turk may unwittingly incur the same penalty, and another victim of the court martial has made general the thought that even complete innocence is no protection. This victim was one Joseph the Jew. This man, who of those who were hanged showed the most courage, adjusted the rope himself and with his last breath crying: "Long live the Republic!" said before his judges, who accused him of associating with the criminals and calling for the return of the "Seriat" (the sacred law): "Why should I, a Jew, wish to see the Seriat back? What do I care for the Seriat? All that I need is peace to carry on my business and to play my game of cards with my friends in the café." Everyone knew that this naïve defence was true, and that even if the man uttered the incriminating phrase, it was only in face of the rifles of the Dervishes. But it is rumoured that there were those who coveted his little shop, the possession of which was the real crime for which he suffered death.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1120/69/44 No. 14.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 6.)

(No. 75.)

(Telegraphic.) R.

Angora, March 5, 1931.

THE Gazi returned to Angora on 3rd March.

On his initiative Assembly to-day decided that new elections should take place forthwith. The present Assembly will continue in being until the new Assembly meets, which will probably be early in May.

E 1190/1190/44 No. 15.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 10.)

(No. 69.)

Angora, February 28, 1931.

Sir,

DESPATCHES from this Embassy have from time to time touched on the tendency to favour the introduction of English and German into the Turkish educational curriculum on a par with, if not to the exclusion of, French, which at present holds a virtual monopoly. The advocates of the change appear to be prompted on the one hand by an appreciation of the increasingly greater practical utility of English and German, and, on the other, by a desire to break the bondage of a culture exclusively French (to the extent that it is not indigenous) and to give Turkey other channels of communication with the outer world besides that which passes through Paris. A number of articles illustrating this tendency have recently appeared in the press, and the following outline of their contents may be of some interest.

2. At the beginning of November of last year the "Vakit," in an article headed "The Vanguard of the Colonisers," took exception to a speech delivered by the French Ambassador on the occasion of a visit to Constantinople by M. Albert Flandin, a member of M. Tardieu's Ministry, in which M. de Chambrun stated that all Frenchmen in Turkey, whether lay or clerical, were propagating French culture and serving the cause of civilisation, while M. Flandin expressed his thanks to the members of the congregations (who, the writer observes, are among the commodities exported by France) for the services rendered by them. Commenting on these speeches, the writer complains that it is only too true that the French in Turkey, be they priests, members of the congregations or laymen,

men, women or children, nuns or loose women, all have but a single aim, to civilise Turkey in the interests of imperialistic France. Turkey is tired of hearing the praises of France sung at every turn. Why do these good people busy themselves with her internal affairs? Why do they interest themselves in cinemas, bars, and the scale of taxation? Why are they so hypersensitive where educational matters are concerned? Why are they not content to take neither more nor less interest in our customs than other foreigners? Simply because they wish to civilise us and to serve humanity! If an object lesson were required it would be sufficient to make a journey to Bucharest in order to understand the full measure of the suffering of the peoples of the Balkans, whom the French seek to harness to their chariot by the despatch of women, monks and money-changers.

3. In a leading article published in the "Milliett" of the 7th January, Falih Rifki Bey advocates the transformation of Turkish education from its present Latin basis, and its remodelling on the lines adopted in Northern Europe. He attributes to the traditions of a Latin education the tendency of Turkish youth and the Turkish *intelligentsia* to congregate in the urban centres and to look almost exclusively to State employment for the provision of a living. A Latin education is radically unsuitable to the Turkish people, who are temperamentally at the opposite pole from the Latins. The Turks, who are a northern people, should receive a northern education. Turkey should be guided by the example of Russia, where English and German are the sole foreign languages taught. For the education of the masses Turkey cannot do better than study Russian methods, while for the education of the *élite* she should establish three new colleges, for boys and girls separately, one on the Black Sea coast, one on the Mediterranean coast, and one in the East. At present Turkey has but a single college (the Galata Saray College is, of course, meant), where Turkish energy is sapped by the Latin virus. Why remain at Constantinople? To live in a café founded by a Greek, an hotel equipped by an Armenian, amongst those who are not our people? We have no intention of reproducing this atmosphere in other parts of Turkey.

4. This article was apparently reported to the "Temps" by its correspondent, who represented the author as an enemy of French culture, which stimulated him to return to the charge in an article in the "Hakimiyeti Milliye" of the 29th January. Falih Rifki Bey quotes a responsible official whom he met on his recent visit to Russia and also the professor of economics of the University of Constantinople, in support of the view that for practical considerations the knowledge of English and German is indispensable for gaining access to modern developments and modern thought, French literature on such subjects being inadequate and behind the times. "We are working," he writes, "for a Turkey which shall not resemble Pera in the slightest" ("Biz Beyoğluna hiç benzemiyen bir Türkiye için çalişiyoruz"). The khaki-clad, gold-braided kavas who follow the French consul about, and the black-frocked priest, who is the herald of French culture, will disappear from our midst.

5. On the 18th January Falih Rifki Bey published in the "Milliett" a leading article on elementary education, urging that, as soon as Turkey recovers her freedom in this respect on the lapse of the Lausanne Residence Convention next August, it should be made obligatory for Turkish children to receive their elementary education in Turkish schools. A foreign education makes of a child an amorphous being without roots in its own country. This theme is taken up by a leading article in the "Politika" of the 30th January, which likewise attacks the congregational schools on the score that they insidiously corrupt the spiritual outlook of Turkish children.

6. I have not yet been able to obtain any detailed forecast of the legislation which the Turkish Government clearly intend to promulgate as soon as the lapse of the Lausanne Residence Convention restores their liberty of action in educational matters. I shall not fail to report to you without delay as soon as I am in a position to throw any light on their intentions in this respect.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

W 2781 1385 98

No. 16.

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).

(No. 152.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, March 10, 1931.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon at the House of Commons, when I took the opportunity of communicating to him the attached aide-mémoire, setting forth the views of His Majesty's Government as regards the entry of Turkey to the League of Nations.

After reading the aide-mémoire the Turkish Ambassador pressed me very strongly to promise the support of His Majesty's Government for the re-eligibility of Turkey to the Council after she had been elected as a member of the League. I told the Ambassador that I feared that I could add nothing to the explanation of the situation as set forth in the aide-mémoire and that it would not be possible for His Majesty's Government to pledge themselves in advance to vote for the re-eligibility of Turkey to the Council, although the position would be viewed sympathetically by His Majesty's Government when the situation arose.

I am, &c.
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

Enclosure in No. 16.

Aide-mémoire.

HIS Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have given their most careful consideration to the request submitted by the Turkish Ambassador on the 5th February, on behalf of his Government, that His Majesty's Government should support the candidature of the Turkish Government for a semi-permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel that it is necessary, in order to make their attitude clear, to recall the exact procedure for elections to membership of the Council.

> Under the ordinary rules the Turkish Government can apply for membership of the League of Nations. If Turkey is elected she can stand for election to the Council. If elected to the Council she remains a member for three years, at the end of which time she must retire unless the Assembly by a two-thirds majority then declare her to be re-eligible. As the Turkish Government are no doubt aware, this is according to the latest rules drawn up in 1926, and it was as an exceptional measure that Poland was in that year elected to the Council and, *at the same time* declared re-eligible. Subsequently, the Assembly also agreed to a similar procedure in the case of Spain, but these are the only two exceptions to a rule which, as the Turkish Government will realise, is logically based on the principle that it is only *at the end* of a term of office that the Assembly can decide whether it desires to re-elect a member of the Council, and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel that the Assembly will continue to adhere rigidly to this rule in the future.

The situation therefore is, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that Turkey, according to the usual procedure, should apply for admission to the League of Nations and if she so desires present her candidature for an ordinary seat on the Council, and, when the time comes, should she so desire, apply for re-election.

In view of this established procedure the Turkish Government will not fail to realise that it would be impossible for His Majesty's Government to pledge their vote in advance in favour of the possible candidature of any State for a seat on the Council of the League of Nations at this stage. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would, however, most cordially welcome the candidature of Turkey for admission to the League of Nations and they would assure her of their warmest support in the event of such candidature being presented. They would support her candidature for election to the Council at the first opportune moment, and at the end of her three years' term (if elected) they would give sympathetic consideration to her application for a declaration of re-eligibility.

March 10, 1931

E 1234 1234 44

No. 17

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received March* 11.)

(No. 9.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Constantinople, March* 11, 1931.

ON 7th March a protocol was signed at Angora by Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Soviet Ambassador to the effect that each of the two Governments concerned, convinced that the only solid guarantee of lasting peace lies in effective reduction of all kinds of existing armaments, agrees not to increase its present naval forces in the Black Sea or adjacent waters, nor to order or to begin building units intended to increase those forces without giving six months' notice to the other.

This protocol is complementary to article 2 of protocol of 17th December, 1929, reported in Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 491 of 18th December, 1929.

E 1292 69 44

No. 18.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received March* 16.)

(No. 74.)
Sir, *Angora, March* 9, 1931

THE life history of the defunct Liberal party appears to belong even more definitely to the past since the decision, reported in my telegram No. 7 of the 5th March, to hold new elections in which, as far as can humanly be foreseen, candidates of the Popular party will alone offer themselves for the suffrages of the population. Nevertheless, the strange vicissitudes of this history have remained so involved in obscurity that, even at this date, I have little hesitation in bringing to your notice a recent conversation between one of the most prominent Deputies of the quondam party and a member of the staff of this Embassy.

2. Agaoglu Ahmet Bey was in a very forthcoming vein, and spoke with considerable frankness. Both he himself and his late chief, Fethi Bey, are retiring from politics, and it is believed that the same applies to Nuri Bey and Tahsin Bey. The smaller fry of the party have contrived to make their peace with the Popular party. Ahmet Bey will in future devote himself to his lectures at the Faculty of Law in Angora on constitutional law, a subject which is in Turkey to-day, as he slily observed, not without pitfalls for the unwary. He has even given up writing for the press, but a political satire of his, entitled "In the Land of Free Men" ("Serbest Insanlar Ülkesinde"), is to appear shortly, and promises to be a suggestive commentary on present Turkish conditions.

3. Ahmet Bey expressed the view that it was unfortunate that Turkey had not known how to derive fuller advantage from the services of a man of such greatness, notwithstanding his undeniable failings and weaknesses, as the Gazi. By this he alluded to the premature demise of the Liberal party, which, in happier circumstances, might have been a valuable instrument for working out the Gazi's ideas. Ahmet Bey related how the Gazi had, in his presence, said to Fethi Bey that the new Turkey which he had created was an amorphous structure, neither democracy nor dictatorship, neither republic nor monarchy, and that he wished before his work was done to set her on the path towards more normal conditions, by initiating the formation of a second party. Fethi Bey had replied that the conception was sublime, but he feared that, in execution, it would inevitably lead to conflict with its author. The Gazi had nevertheless, with tears in his eyes, insisted on Fethi Bey assuming the task for which he destined him. The disfavour into which the Liberal party soon fell was primarily due to the success of its enemies in scaring the Gazi by depicting a victory for the party at the forthcoming elections, leading perhaps even to the choice of Fethi Bey as President of the Republic and to the raking up of all sorts of affairs in which the Gazi was interested and which he would be reluctant to have thrown into the limelight. Although the initiative in dissolving the party had nominally come from Fethi Bey himself, and the Gazi had professed to try and dissuade him, this had been, Ahmet Bey said, more for form's sake than anything else, and the Gazi had not been sorry to see the last of the party. At the same time his own personal relations with the Gazi remained quite friendly.

4. Ahmet Bey anticipated that the Gazi would in future take the affairs of State more directly into his own hands. He said that the Gazi had at a certain period played with the idea of becoming Prime Minister, and ceding the Presidency of the Republic to Fevzi Pasha, or alternatively of remodelling the Constitution on American lines so as to enable the head of the State to be his own Prime Minister. Ahmet Bey had, it seemed, encouraged the idea, but the Gazi had himself decided against it. Mr. Roberts observed that he had heard argued against the former plan that it would not be understood by the peasant, who would simply see that the Gazi has ceased to be the first man in the State, and his prestige would suffer consequently. Ahmet Bey, while maintaining that the Gazi's prestige and influence would not be damaged in political circles even if he were to accept the position of a simple Deputy, admitted that with the peasantry it might be otherwise, but contended that the attitude of the peasantry on a matter of this kind presented very little importance. The peasantry were, it is true, the mainstay of a country like Turkey, but all they cared for was to be able to sell their produce at a reasonable price, not to be overburdened with taxation and to be free from unduly vexatious interference by officialdom.

5. The above account, in general, serves to confirm and amplify that given to Mr Helm by a Deputy in September last and reported in Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 369 of the 24th September, 1930. Ahmet Bey made no mention of what was, there can be little doubt, at least an equally important motive with the Gazi in launching the Liberal party, viz., the desire to "prepare the way for the disappearance of Ismet Pasha." It still remains obscure whether the Gazi's original conception was to replace him at the head of the Government by Fethi Bey at an early date, or whether the latter's party was for the time being to serve only as a bogy with which to render Ismet Pasha more amenable to the Gazi's wishes, and only ultimately, in the words of Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 356 of the 10th September last, to supply "a potential Government, to take over the administration of the country when, in the course of nature, the present Government had to disappear." The straightforward reading of the letters exchanged in August last between the Gazi and Fethi Bey, and later between the Gazi and Yunus Nadi Bey (a translation of which was transmitted under cover of Mr Helm's despatch No. 312 of the 12th August, and of Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 357 of the 10th September last), points to the latter supposition, though it is true that, in Turkey, the surface interpretation of such affairs does not always represent the truth, or at any rate the whole truth. If Fethi Bey was indeed cast by the Gazi for the rôle of bogy, events were, in the issue, so manipulated or at least exploited by the Ismet faction that the bogy was turned against its creator, and with devastating effect.

6. One more detail in the picture may deserve recording. In his memorandum, to which reference is made at the beginning of the preceding paragraph, Mr Helm wrote: "Fethi Bey had, in fact, surrounded himself, possibly at superior dictation, with unworthy instruments." That the unworthiness of some of his principal lieutenants played no negligible part in his downfall is, I think, incontestable, but I venture to doubt whether, at the early stage when Fethi Bey was forming his general staff, the Gazi, at any rate (if such is Mr. Helm's implication), conceived so Machiavellian a plan as deliberately to implant in the new party the seeds of inevitable premature decay. On the contrary, a member of the staff of this Embassy was assured by one who had been present at the time that the Gazi entreated Nuri Bey not to assume the post of secretary-general to the new party. In the phase where the party still enjoyed full presidential favour, the only possible interpretation of the Gazi's attitude is surely that he viewed with dismay the accession to it of a man who, however welcome to himself personally as a boon companion, must taint it with an unsavoury atmosphere of corruption and ineluctably condemn it to an early disintegration.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 1295/69/44] No. 19.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 78.)

Angora, March 9, 1931.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that the President of the Republic returned to Angora on the 4th March, after a three months' tour of Turkey. During this period the Gazi has visited all parts of his country with the exception of the eastern provinces, to which he intends to travel at some future date. The main purpose of his tour was to make it clear to the Turkish people that he identified himself completely with the Popular party, and that Turkey's salvation lay in confiding its destinies to a Popular party Government. He constantly appealed to the members of the local party centres, to the adherents of the Turkish ojaks, to teachers, officers and especially to the young to act as missionaries for the party ideals, to keep alive the revolutionary flame and to combat the tendency to apathy and lack of confidence in the revolutionary Government which the old and the middle-aged traditionalists endeavoured to create.

2. While pursuing his main object of popularising the Popular party, the Gazi has not been unmindful of the fact that, as shown during the short life-time of the Liberal party, and at the municipal elections, a widespread discontent with the Government existed, and he has been endeavouring to ascertain the causes. To this end he has studied the mentality, and judged the achievements, of his officials, enquired into the social, educational and financial standard of his people, seen for himself the condition of the roads, gathered information about commerce, industry and agriculture, received complaints, and, in general, probed discontent where it came to his notice. The result has been that he has decided to make the party as wide as the nation and to change and improve the programme of the Popular party, *i.e.*, of the Government, so that, while the people will have no choice but to accept, at parliamentary elections, the candidates put forward by the Popular party, it will, at the same time, feel that its best interests are served by a Popular party Government, and that such a Government is the best possible.

3. Primed with the knowledge acquired during his tour, the Gazi, immediately on his return to Angora, summoned a meeting of the heads of the Popular party, and communicated to them the following message:—

> "In the past few months attempts have been made to create in the country an atmosphere of discontent against the administrative and political activity displayed by the the Republican Popular party in the Assembly and in the Government in regard to national affairs. It is natural that there are defects in a State so long neglected, but it is also undeniable that among the people there are some who dislike a policy designed to effect the salvation of the nation. Attempts have been made to disturb the minds of the people without consideration for their better interests. But the clear vision and good sense of the people have not permitted them to be led astray. My three months' tour has convinced me that the programme of my party is the most suitable from the point of view of the nation's interests, and that my party has the devotion and confidence of the people. For this reason, and to ascertain how far the people acquiesce in the measures which consider it necessary to put into force in the near future, I am of opinion that the mandates of the Deputies belonging to the party of which I am the head should be renewed. I am convinced that when I see the nation testify its confidence in me, everyone will see how solid and unshakable is the national ideal towards which our party marches."

4. On receiving this message, the obedient party at once decided that new parliamentary elections should take place, and also agreed to the President's proposal that Deputies' salaries should be reduced.

5. On the following day the Grand National Assembly, on a motion couched in terms almost identical with those of the above message, voted unanimously that new elections should be held, and, amid great applause, adopted the proposal that Deputies' salaries be reduced from £T. 500 to £T. 350 per month.

6. The Constitution does not provide for the dissolution of an Assembly, but any Assembly may, before the expiration of the term of four years for which it is

elected, decide, by unanimity of votes, to hold new elections. In such a case the outgoing Assembly continues in being until the new Assembly meets. It is expected that the new Assembly will meet early in May, and that many of the existing Deputies will be replaced by younger men or men more imbued with the revolutionary spirit. One of its first acts will be to elect the President of the Republic, the President being elected for the period of the lifetime of each Assembly.

7. The Popular party is throwing itself with great energy into the election campaign. A change foreshadowed in the enclosure in Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 369 of the 24th September last is to-day announced, viz., that Recep Bey, Deputy for Kutahia, has been appointed secretary-general of the party, in succession to Saffet Bey.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 1301/1234/44] No. 20.

Mr. Ramsay to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 112.)

Athens, March 10, 1931.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 654 of the 24th December last regarding the Graeco-Turkish agreement, I have the honour to inform you that, according to a semi-official statement in the "Messager d'Athènes," the Turkish Minister informed M. Michalacopoulos yesterday of the conclusion of the Soviet-Turkish Naval Agreement. The latter expressed to Enis Bey the satisfaction which he felt at the conclusion of this agreement, which constituted a further element for the stability of peace in the East.

2. The communiqué concludes by stating that the Soviet-Turkish agreement, which is similar to the Graeco-Turkish Naval Protocol, has created the best impression among competent Hellenic circles, as being certain to facilitate the limitation of naval expenditure, for it is evident that the signature of the Turkish agreement with the Soviets fills the gap left by the Turkish agreement with Greece in so far as the requirements of Turkey in the Black Sea are concerned.

3. The Greek press of all shades of opinion warmly welcomes the new pact.

4. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PATRICK RAMSAY.

E 1293/1234/44] No. 21.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 81.)

Constantinople, March 12, 1931.

Sir,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 9 of the 11th March, I have the honour to give below the text of the protocol signed at Angora by Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Surits, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with a view to limitation of naval armaments in the Black Sea:—

> "The two high contracting parties, conformably with the essential principles enunciated in the treaty of the 17th December, 1925, and in the protocol of the 17th December, 1929, being desirous of consolidating the pacific and friendly relations existing between them, and being firmly convinced that the only solid guarantee of lasting peace in the effective reduction of all kinds of existing armaments, and wishing to manifest their unshakable resolution to continue in future their efforts to bring about a universal reduction of armaments, have considered it desirable, in order to furnish a new proof of the mutual confidence so happily reigning between

the two countries, to complete article 2 of the protocol of the 17th December, 1929, by the following reciprocal engagement :

> "Neither of the high contracting parties will lay down any fighting naval unit whatsoever intended to strengthen its war fleet in the Black Sea or in the contiguous seas, nor will it place an order for such a unit in any foreign yard, nor will it take any other measure which will result in an increase in the present composition of its war fleet in the above-mentioned seas, without having given the other contracting party six months' notice. The present complementary protocol will be ratified and will thenceforth become an integral part of the protocol of the 17th December, 1929
>
> "Done at Angora, the 7th March, 1931

2. The publication of this protocol follows too closely on the signature of the Franco-Italian Naval Agreement to be attributable to mere coincidence. It is reasonable to assume that the two Governments which, while priding themselves on standing apart from reunions and conferences of the Great Powers, yet feel piqued at not being formally invited to all of them, wish to show the world at large that they, too, can have their naval pacts and make their own contributions to the cause of world peace.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow and Athens.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 1299 68 44 No. 22

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received March* 16.)

(No. 83.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March* 12, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Kurdish chieftain's son Selahettin, who formed the subject of Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 194 of the 3rd June, 1930, has been condemned by the Criminal Court at Angora to fifteen years' imprisonment with hard labour. The sentence was, however, reduced to twelve years and six months in view of the fact that the condemned man had not completed his twenty-first year at the time of the conspiracy of Erzerum, which he was accused of having promoted. Of Selahettin's alleged accomplices, one has been condemned to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and another to one month's imprisonment and a fine of £T. 51. The remaining two, including an ex-Deputy for Beyazit, were acquitted.

2. The comparative mildness of these sentences, in contrast with the recent wholesale hangings at Menemen, compels the conclusion that little or nothing of a treasonable nature could be proved against Sheikh Sait's son and his companions, and there has been on this occasion no fresh crop of insinuations regarding British complicity such as those reported in Mr. Edmonds's despatch under reference.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 1351 68 44 No. 23

Mr. Parr to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received March* 17.)

(No. 45.)

(Telegraphic.) *Code.* *Tehran, March* 17, 1931.

FOLLOWING telegram has been received from consul, Tabriz, No. 9

> "Kurds appear to have started attack near Maku and General Officer Commanding with considerable reinforcements has hurried there. More troops are to leave also for Ushnu."

(Repeated to High Commissioner for Iraq, No. 14, and Constantinople, No. 1.)

[E 1352/68/44] No. 24.

Mr. Parr to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received March* 17.)

(No. 46.)

(Telegraphic.) *Code.* *Tehran, March* 17, 1931.

FOLLOWING telegram has been received from consul, Tabriz, No. 10 :

> "Old pre-conscription soldiers are being called up and lorries and horses commandeered, while four guns have been sent to Maku.
>
> "There is a rigid censorship on news. While I cannot learn anything definite from civilians or military authorities or Turkish consul, it is generally believed that Turks have advanced 24 kilom. into Persian territory near Ararat.
>
> "Turkish consul told me some days ago that Turkish army might this year hold the frontier itself and require Persia to round up Kurds in Persian territory, where any operations would be much easier."

(Repeated to High Commissioner for Iraq, No. 15, and Constantinople, No. 2.)

[E 1458/1234/44] No. 25.

Sir E. Ovey to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received March* 23.)

(No. 131.)

Sir, *Moscow, March* 17, 1931.

WITH reference to Mr. Strang's despatch No. 461 of the 11th August last, I have the honour to report that negotiations for a new Soviet-Turkish Commercial Treaty have at last been brought to a successful conclusion and that the treaty was signed here in Moscow yesterday. This treaty takes the place of the Commercial Treaty of the 11th March, 1927, which lapsed on the 19th October last. The scope of the new treaty is outlined in a communiqué issued to the foreign press correspondents by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, a translation of which is enclosed.

2. The signature of the new Commercial Treaty and of the Supplementary Naval Protocol, reported in my despatch No. 113 of the 10th March, have roughly synchronised with the tenth anniversary of the signature of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship, signed at Moscow on the 16th March, 1921. The "Izvestiya" published an article on the 16th March reviewing the history of these ten years of Soviet-Turkish relations. The article is in the usual strain, laying stress on the support afforded by Soviet Russia to Turkey when she was friendless, and emphasising the solidarity between the two countries in the face of the forces of Western capitalism.

3. The article concludes as follows :—

> "If the U.S.S.R. and Turkey are striving for peace, the Imperialist States, by continuing their struggle against them in the economic and political sphere, have prepared and are preparing for a new world war and a new attack on the Soviet Union. The leading Imperialist Powers are trying to form combinations of States which, finding themselves in economic or political dependence upon them, could be utilised for a new boycott, a new blockade and intervention against the Soviet Union.
>
> "The inclusion of Turkey in a group of this kind is the 'supreme' object of the international policy of imperialism. But the independent foreign policy of Turkey has put out of gear and will put of gear the imperialist plans for isolating the Soviet Union. The Angora Government fully realises that imperialism is trying to tear away Turkey from the U.S.S.R. in order that, having weakened both sides, it will be still easier to settle their accounts with each separately. In view of this the U.S.S.R. and Turkey answered the attempts of imperialism by the pact of neutrality, non-aggression and non-participation in enemy groups concluded in Paris in 1925. This pact is a manifestation of that strong policy of peace which the U.S.S.R. and Turkey are pursuing unwaveringly and logically; and the more tense the international situation becomes, the greater is the importance of Soviet-Turkish relations as a weapon of peace.

"The most important act of mutual trust is the new addition to the Paris Pact, namely, the Protocol of the 7th March, dealing with the fleets in the Black Sea and neighbouring waters. The new Commercial Treaty, which is to be signed in the course of the next few days in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, must still further strengthen the relations between the countries. All these treaties and protocols are an organic development of these principles which lie at the basis of the Moscow Treaty of 1921.

"Desire for security, consolidation of all the victories of the revolution, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, and active struggle for peace and the devotion of all resources to internal economic and cultural construction, these are bases on which Soviet-Turkish friendship is founded. These foundations have been tested by the experience of the past ten years and have proved their strength. They have stood the test of history and have been tempered in the forge of mutual help in battle and co-operation.

"We can say with a feeling of great satisfaction on the day of the tenth anniversary of the Moscow Treaty that Soviet-Turkish relations represent one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Soviet relationship with the outside world."

4. A copy of this despatch has been transmitted to the Department of Overseas Trade.

I have, &c.
ESMOND OVEY.

Enclosure in No. 25.

Communiqué issued to Foreign Press Correspondents by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

ON the 16th March, the tenth anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed in the Conference Hall of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The treaty was signed on behalf of the U.S.S.R. by the Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Karakhan, and on behalf of Turkey by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. The treaty replaces the Soviet-Turkish Commercial Treaty, which was signed on the 11th March, 1927, and which lapsed on the 19th October, 1930. The new treaty regulates questions relating to the settlement of citizens of one of the contracting parties on the territory of the other, the régime of judicial persons, the régime of trade representatives of the U.S.S.R. and their branches in Turkey, questions of export and import of goods by one of the parties to and from the territory of the other, questions relating to goods in transit and questions of navigation. The treaty is founded on the most-favoured-nation principle. Each party has undertaken not to impose upon the trade of the other any limitations or prohibitions not imposed upon the trade of all other countries. The U.S.S.R. in the new treaty confirms the rights of transit for goods of Turkish origin through Batoum granted in the Treaty of 1927, and in addition gives Turkey the right of transit for goods passing from the western vilayets to the eastern vilayets and originating in countries which have commercial treaties with the U.S.S.R. The treaty also contains a number of provisions which will promote the development of navigation between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The treaty is concluded for a period of one year with automatic renewal unless one of the parties denounces it at the expiration of one year. Should the treaty be denounced, it will continue in force for a period of six months from the date of the denunciation. The treaty is subject to ratification and the exchange of ratifications will take place in Angora.

The new treaty creates a favourable basis for the development and widening of economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. The régime of trade between the two countries will be organised in such a manner that all trade on Turkish territory will be carried on by Soviet economic organisations. By virtue of the new treaty the contracting parties will be in a position to increase the trade turnover both as regards the export of Soviet goods to Turkey and the purchase of goods of Turkish origin.

The treaty marks a further development of Soviet-Turkish friendship, and together with the other instruments in force between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey creates a solid foundation for the strengthening of friendly relations between the two countries.

E 1453/1234/44]

No. 26.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 95.)

Sir,

Angora, March 18, 1931.

THE Turkish newspapers, in commenting on the Turco-Soviet Naval Agreement reported in my despatch No. 84 of the 12th March, link it with the Turco-Greek Naval Protocol signed at Angora on the 30th October, 1930, but none appear to notice that the newly concluded agreement does not include what is a vital feature of its predecessor, viz., the declaration of the intention of the parties de travailler de pair dans la voie de la limitation parallèle de leurs forces respectives. They are careful to warn the public that the two pacts must not be interpreted as signifying a want of confidence in her two neighbours on Turkey's part, but as a means of strengthening her friendship with them.

2. According to the "République," Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and even the big Mediterranean naval Powers were seriously disturbed a year ago when the Soviet Government brought into the Black Sea a super-Dreadnought and a battle cruiser belonging to the Baltic Fleet. This disquieting event was the cause of the despatch of a British division to the Black Sea. Roumania, too, began the construction of a strong naval base near Constantsa, under the supervision of a British admiral. The Turco-Soviet agreement prevents future uneasiness, for it precludes any sudden transfer to the Black Sea of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, or units thereof.

3. The "Milliett" is pleased that the conclusion of the Turco-Russian pact coincides with the completion of the Naval Treaty of London by the Franco-Italian agreement. By their action Turkey and Russia have proved that they mean to be factors of peace in world politics. The Black Sea can now be considered as "disarmed." Competition in naval armaments in that sea can now only begin if one third littoral Power of it furnishes the motive. It cannot be caused by the action of other Powers for, according to the provisions of the Straits Convention, no Power may send through the Straits into the Black Sea a force greater than that of the most powerful fleet of the littoral Powers of the Black Sea existing in that sea at the time of passage.

4. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in conversation with a member of the staff of this Embassy, emphasised the point, already noted in the press, that the terms of the protocol prevented any sudden reinforcement of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet by the transfer of units from the Baltic. He added that the negotiations for the protocol had been begun and carried through quite recently, and that the initiative had come from the Turkish side. He expressed considerable gratification at the achievement of this further contribution towards the limitation of armaments and the maintenance of peace, and pointed out that, thanks to the position of Turkey as the common link in the Turco-Greek and Turco-Soviet protocols, a discussion between Russia, Turkey and Greece was practically assured in the event of any development threatening to upset the naval *status quo* in the waters of the Levant.

5. In the course of a reception which was given on the 16th March at the Soviet Embassy here to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Turco-Soviet Treaty of Moscow, and which was attended by Ismet Pasha and the members of the Turkish Cabinet, Dr. Tevfik Rüstü Bey spoke to Mr. Roberts of the naval pact and expressed his gratification at noticing that, quite fortuitously, the wording of the preamble of the pact displayed a close correspondence with the tenor of the declarations made in connexion with the Franco-Italian Naval Agreement by the representatives of His Majesty's Government as reported here.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow and Athens.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 1489/1489/44] No. 27.

Mr. Ramsay to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 25.)

(No. 105.)

Sir, *Athens, March 9, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that considerable excitement is manifested in the Greek press in connexion with the reported intention of the Prefecture of Constantinople to change the official appellation of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to "Bashpapazlik," on the ground that the temporal power of the Patriarchate has been lost.

2. "Patris" points out that, before the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchate exercised no temporal power, but that it was none the less called a Patriarchate, a title which it retained after the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet. The prefect, says "Patris," should inform himself of his Government's views before he takes any further steps, and he will learn that the Patriarchate has already been officially recognised by the President of the Turkish Republic as the spiritual centre of Orthodoxdom.

3. In a second article "Patris" says that public opinion in Greece is astonished at the action of the Constantinople authorities, and the more so because the Turkish Premier in his communications with the Patriarch gives him his proper title, which is established by the Treaty of Lausanne and recognised officially in Turkey. What renders this action even more strange is the fact that Armenian, Armenian Catholic and Syro-Chaldean Patriarchates are recognised in Turkey. "Patris" then goes on to say that the old Turkish suspicions of Greece have been dissipated and that it was hardly worth while to disturb the good relations existing between the Turkish and Greek peoples. "Eleftheron Vema" mentions the grief and astonishment with which the Greek people have learned of the incident and expresses the hope that Angora will hasten to put the matter right. "Ethnos" describes the action of the Turkish Government as inconceivable, and as a grave affront to the national and religious conscience of all Greeks. Whilst Greece, it continues, has done everything possible to maintain friendly relations with Turkey, the clumsiness of the Turkish Government and the hostility of the Turkish press raise a sentiment of doubt in Greece as to the possibility of a lasting and sincere friendship with Turkey. But, it concludes, it will not be Greece who suffers in the end.

4. "Proia" says that all who have read the letter of its correspondent (which gave the first news of the attitude of the Turkish authorities and press on this subject), will be in a position to appreciate at their true value the agreements which MM. Venizelos and Michalakopoulos signed at Angora a few months ago. The great financial sacrifices then made by Greece, the loss of naval superiority and even of parity, were agreed to on the supposition that the Greeks who remain in European Turkey would be left in peace and the Head of the Orthodox Church respected. These moral losses which Turkey seems determined to inflict upon Greece are greater than territorial and financial losses, and as such Greece is aroused against them. "Eleftheron Vema" reverts to the question in an article on the anti-Kemalist Turks, who have been obliged to leave Greece. Greece consented to this measure, it says, although it was contrary to her sentiments of hospitality, with the assurance that similar measures would be taken by Turkey against Papa Efthim. Unfortunately, however, Turkey has done nothing of the kind, and the Prefect of Constantinople has allied himself with Papa Efthim against the Patriarch. "Kathemerine" writes sarcastically about the Angora agreements and the present situation of the Patriarch, as compared with that of the Patriarch Gregorio II after the conquest of Constantinople and attacks the Orthodox Liberal press for not being sufficiently moved by the incident.

5. I have transmitted a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PATRICK RAMSAY

[E 1581/1581/44] No. 28.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 30.)

(No. 98.)

Sir, *Angora, March 23, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 64 of the 20th February, 1930, that the press announces the impending transformation of the Turkish ojaks from their present independent basis to that of a cultural section of the Popular party, with a corresponding change in the name of the organisation. According to the press an extraordinary assembly of the members of the ojaks will be convoked in order to take the necessary decision.

2. A member of the staff of this Embassy took an opportunity of asking Hamdullah Suphi Bey whether this information was correct. Hamdullah Suphi Bey replied that, although no final decision had yet been taken, it was practically a foregone conclusion that the change announced in the press would take place. It had been felt that, while the new Turkey was menaced by such powerful internal and external enemies it was essential to unify and concentrate the mechanism for propagating the principles of the revolution and stimulating the national consciousness of the country. Any dispersion of activities in these fields was a luxury which could no longer be afforded. Speaking in strict confidence Hamdullah Suphi Bey added that he personally deplored the decision. He favoured the organisation of such manifestations of national life on an autonomous basis and condemned the tendency to concentrate them in the hands of the State or, in Turkey, the identification of the Government with the ruling party is [illegible] complete as in Soviet Russia. Indeed Hamdullah Suphi Bey seemed to think that the impending change was yet another outcome of the influence of Soviet Russia over the policy of the present rulers of Turkey, an influence which he once more deplored in unreserved terms. Hamdullah Suphi Bey added that he did not expect to remain at the head of the transformed organisation. It seemed impossible to reconcile this with his convictions. There were, however, other places in which he would find it possible to serve his country.

3. I find it difficult not to share Hamdullah Suphi Bey's regret at the forthcoming change. The history of the Turkish ojaks throughout the twenty or so years of their existence, during almost the whole of which Hamdullah Bey has been prominently associated with them, is a record of invaluable services rendered to the cause of Turkish nationality and of the creation from very modest beginnings of a vigorous and independent organisation chiefly maintained by the subscriptions of its members. A body of this kind is much more calculated to appeal to Turkish ideas than a rigidly bound Government or party organisation without any corporate life. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is some justification for the desire to concentrate in one channel the labours of the artisans of the new Turkey, and to avoid a wasteful overlapping and dispersion of effort which may well in country districts be considerable. Some interest attaches to Hamdullah Suphi Bey's reference to the menace from external enemies. No doubt France is the country of whose machinations Turkey is at the moment most apprehensive, yet he probably realises that the only countries whose ambitions might some day lead them into active aggression against her are Russia and Italy. Unless Hamdullah Suphi Bey's allusion to external enemies was nothing more than a reflection of his own personal Russophobia, it would tend to confirm the view put forward in previous reports from this Embassy that Turkey's cordiality towards the Soviet Union and Italy is principally due to the desire to propitiate those [illegible] she is most apprehensive.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 1583/1489/44] No. 29.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received March 30.)

(No. 101.)

Sir, *Angora, March 25, 1931.*

IN his despatch No. 105 of the 9th March to you, His Majesty's Minister at Athens reported the comments of the Greek press on the recent attempt of Turkish authorities to substitute for the time honoured title of Œcumenical

Patriarch the appellation of Bas Papas or Arch-priest. The attempt was made by the Stambul authorities in connexion with the service on the Patriarch of certain documents, which he refused to accept on the ground that he was described therein as Bas Papas and not as Patriarch. The incident gave rise to a number of reports in the Turkish press to the effect that the Turkish Government was disinclined to recognise the title of Patriarch.

2 The Greek Minister in Turkey decided to make representations about the matter to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and, on the 3rd March, had an interview with Tevfik Rüstü Bey, who told him that the action of the Stambul authorities was due to a blunder, and had not the approval of the Government. M. Polychroniadis laid before the Minister the historical arguments why the Patriarch was entitled to be so called without this necessarily involving any jurisdiction outside Turkey. It is interesting to note that Tevfik Rüstü Bey recognised the claim of the Greek Minister to make representations to him on such a matter, although he was not prepared to admit that Turkey was bound by any international obligation in this respect, in virtue of the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne.

3. Subsequently the "Vakit," in two articles, accused the "Greek Bas Papas" of "meddling in politics," and, in support of its accusation, alleged that the Patriarch had recognised as his representative in Western Europe a Russian bishop, named Evlogios, who had been head of the Russian Church in Western Europe under Metropolitan Serge of Moscow, until the latter had dismissed him for participating in anti-Soviet manifestations in connexion with the persecution of Christians in Russia. The "Vakit" considered the Patriarch's act as a proof that he nourishes hostile feelings against the Soviet Government. It went on to examine the Patriarch's relation with the Anglican and American Churches, and declared that during the armistice period the Anglican Church was the mouthpiece of the Phanar, and that the heads of the Anglican Church were continually inveighing against the Turks and desiring their expulsion from Europe, and that anti-Turkish propaganda was directed by the delegates for the union of the churches.

4 The articles of the "Vakit" were not allowed to pass without criticism. In a leading article in the "République" of the 9th March, Yunus Nadi Bey intervened to put a stop to the controversy about the appellation of the Patriarch, and boldly declared that the Turkish Government had agreed at Lausanne to the maintenance of the Patriarchate in Stambul, on condition that it should enjoy no right or privilege of an administrative or political order. Provided that condition were observed, it would be unprofitable on the part of individuals or departments to raise the question of the appellation of the Patriarchate, for its situation had been clearly defined at Lausanne. The institution maintained at Stambul was a Patriarchate, and no decision had been taken at Lausanne to transform the name Patriarch into Prelate or some such title

5. As a sequel to this article, a letter to the "République" of the 16th March pointed out that the title of Œcumenical Patriarch had been sanctioned by the Christian world many centuries before the "Vakit" saw the light of day, and that it was as foolish for the "Vakit" to call a Patriarch an Arch-priest as to call a Brahmin a pariah. The writer of the letter insisted that the relations of the Patriarch with Mgr. Evlogios were entirely non-political, and in accordance with canon law, which prescribed that any Orthodox community rendered independent by geographical or ethnical reasons was at liberty to ask to be attached to the centre of Orthodoxy, represented by the Œcumenical Patriarchate. The relations of the Patriarchate with the Anglican Church were of a spiritual nature, and were dictated by Christian charity and a desire for union.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 1717 68 44

No. 30.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received April 7.*)

(No. 102.)

Sir, *Angora, March* 28, 1931.

WITH reference to Sir Robert Clive's telegram No. 46, I have the honour to transmit herewith a despatch which I have received from Major B. J. O'Leary, military attaché to this Embassy, on the subject of the present situation in Kurdistan.

2. Major O'Leary's estimate of an obscure situation will, I believe, be read with interest, and I venture to think that his views on the nature of the Kurdish movement will carry no slight measure of conviction.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran and to the British High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

Enclosure in No 30.

Major O'Leary to Mr. Morgan.

[illegible] 2

Sir, *Angora, March* 24, 1931.

ALTHOUGH all students of the situation in Eastern Turkey agree in thinking that a revival of the Kurdish insurrection will take place in the spring, widely divergent opinions are held as to the probable extent of the operations. The veil of obscurity which wraps all occurrences in the eastern vilayets is little less opaque now than in former years, and to foretell the future is doubly difficult in a case where both past events and present conditions can only be surmised.

The official Turkish account, which describes the Kurdish question as finally liquidated, is almost certainly untrue. Minor engagements in the Bashkale area, and incursions from Barzan and from Syria, were reported after the battle on Agri Dag, in September, in which Salih Pasha claimed to have dealt a decisive blow to the rebels. Further, unrest amongst the Kurds of Iraq, general disorder in the east of Turkey, desire of revenge for the punitive measures of the Turkish forces, and reaction against the processes of civilisation and modernisation all reinforce the natural instincts of the tribesmen to take to arms when the fine weather comes.

Nevertheless, Salih Pasha's energetic campaign last summer was fatal to Kurdish prospects of permanent success. Had the various efforts been better co-ordinated and synchronised, and had the rebels avoided meeting the Turks in pitched battle, but extended their guerilla warfare simultaneously throughout the country from Ararat to Neri and westward to Mush, mobilisation would have been inevitable, and one summer would not have sufficed for the suppression of the outbreak.

As it is, the Kurds sustained two definite defeats, they have lost many of their prominent leaders, have been deprived of their stronghold on Agri Dag and have seen their ammunition and other resources depleted. They face a new campaign distinctly poorer, both in material and in morale, than they were a year ago. Although their powers of mischief are still extensive, their prospects of achieving any ultimate success have almost vanished.

The lack of cohesion in the Kurdish revolt seems to me, not the result of unfavourable circumstances, but inevitable and symptomatic of the lack of homogeneity in these mountain tribes. The self-conscious race fighting for unity and independence against Turkish tyranny exists, I venture to suggest, only in the theory of propagandist organisations, such as Khevbun and Dashnak, largely composed of Armenians and westernised Kurds, or in the minds of those who are won by such propaganda. The outbreaks are in many cases spontaneous, and are not directed by any central organisation, and there is little connexion between those who write and those who fight.

The larger question of Turkish policy towards the Kurdish people is probably one on which the Government itself finds a decision difficult. The country can ill afford any decrease of population, but there must be moments when the most patient of administrators is inclined towards pacification by extermination.

I have, &c.
B. J. O'LEARY.

E 1718/1718/44 No. 31.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 103.)
Sir, *Angora, March 28, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report that in the course of an interview on the 26th March the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me, with reference to proposals made in the past that the Turkish fleet should visit Malta, that a decision had been taken that the visit should be made, and that he hoped that it would take place at the very latest by May 1932. If it were possible it would take place this year, but, owing to the fact that there would be a delay of about six weeks in the delivery of [illegible] Italy [illegible] time for waiting to allow the new vessels to be [illegible] at the [illegible] would be past before the Turkish fleet was ready to proceed to Malta.

2. He emphasised the fact that the first foreign visit made by the reconstituted Turkish fleet would be to a British port, and [illegible] said that the [illegible]. After visiting Malta [illegible] by the fleet to Italian and Soviet ports.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 1725/1489/44 No. 32.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 112.)
Sir, *Angora, March 31, 1931.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 101 of the 25th March regarding the title of the Œcumenical Patriarch, I have been informed by the Greek Minister here that Yunus Nadi's leading article in the "République" in defence of the Patriarch was written on the instructions of Ismet Pasha, who also supplied the arguments used therein.

2. With the publication of the articles in the "République" the short-lived campaign against the Patriarch's title came to an end. While it lasted M. Polykhroniadis's advice was freely taken by the Turkish Government.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 2044/1190/44 No. 33.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 130.)
Sir, *Angora, April 15, 1931.*

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No. 69 of the 28th February, that on the 23rd March the Assembly passed a law of which the following is a translation:—

> *Article* 1.—Children who are Turkish citizens and enter a school in order to receive primary instruction may only enter Turkish schools.
>
> *Article* 2.—This law enters into force as from the date of its publication.

2. The law has now been published in the "Official Gazette," but the publication of the usual interpretative regulations is still awaited. Until the tenor of these is known, it is impossible to appreciate the exact effect of the law. It is, for example, understood that Turkish children at present attending foreign primary schools will be allowed to complete their education there, and on the other hand it is still uncertain whether minority primary schools will be obliged to close or whether they will remain unaffected. Unlike some other countries, Great Britain has no primary schools in Turkey, but the boys' and girls' schools in Constantinople both maintain a "special" class which receives children below 12 years of age. This class serves as a feeder to the secondary classes which form the substantial part of the schools and enables children to start the study of a foreign language at an earlier age, instead of waiting till the age of 12, when secondary education begins. This arrangement owes its origin to the fact that the curriculum prescribed for primary schools does not allow the teaching of any foreign language, in spite of raising difficulties from time to time the Ministry of Public Instruction have hitherto acquiesced in this device for getting round the difficulty. It remains to be seen however whether this toleration will be continued when the new law enters into force.

3. I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum by the headmaster of the boys' school, which throws interesting light on the question of education in Turkey. Mr. Peach stresses the fact that if the new law is rigidly applied the result will be that Turkish boys will be unable to start the study of a foreign language before the age of twelve when their period of greatest receptivity is practically at an end. Certain Turkish private schools contrive to give to their primary classes some sort of instruction in a foreign language, but they too have had objections raised by the authorities and may well be obliged to abandon the attempt when the law enters into force. While the endeavours of the authorities to ensure that the children of the nation will be brought up in a national and not in a foreign atmosphere are deserving of the fullest sympathy, it is to be feared that their object will be attained only at the cost of impairing the capacity of the future generation to communicate with the outside world, and to imbibe the European culture and science which Turkey now affects to rate so highly.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 2045/14/44 No. 34.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 131.)
Sir, *Angora, April 15, 1931.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 181 of the 30th March regarding the Ottoman Public Debt, I have the honour to report that the French Ambassador, shortly after his return to Angora from leave on the 2nd April, had an interview with Ismet Pasha, who immediately referred to the bondholders' proposal that they should make contact with the representatives of the Turkish Government at Paris, or, failing Paris, at Angora.

2. Ismet Pasha said that he had indicated to the bondholders his desire that contact should be made at Angora, and declared that his choice of Angora was a proof of his sincere desire to reach an early settlement, and of Turkey's intention not to repudiate her debt. If he had sent representatives to Paris they would have had no power definitely to engage the Turkish Government, matters would have had to be referred to him, and there would have been inevitable delay, with the result that it would have been thought that Turkey's only wish was to prolong discussion in the hope of whittling down the bondholders' claims, of avoiding as long as possible entering into a definite engagement, even of evading her liabilities.

3. M. de Chambrun in informing me of the foregoing, qualified Ismet Pasha's arguments as new and powerful but somewhat specious. I expressed the hope that in the course of the coming discussions Turkey would clearly be

given to understand, in order to avoid possible future disappointment, that the settlement of the debt question did not necessarily mean that Turkey would obtain a foreign loan. At the same time it seemed desirable that on the settlement of the debt question Turkey should obtain such a loan in order to prevent her, under the stress of financial need, embarking on a course which might embarrass France and Great Britain.

4. In a leading article on the debt question the "Milliett" of the 6th April welcomes the decision of the bondholders to renew negotiations. It states that the bondholders had protested when Turkey declared that it was impossible to apply the Paris Agreement, and that she could only pay one third, but that their subsequent investigations showed that Turkey was right. The French bondholders must recognise the gravity of the crisis through which the world is passing. Australia can no longer pay her foreign debts. Germany had to receive financial aid in order to be able to pay reparations. Turkey has, however, been the object of a financial blockade since Lausanne, although she showed goodwill by signing an agreement at Paris and making payments despite the menace of an approaching financial crash. At Paris, Turkey's creditors declared that if she signed an agreement and commenced to pay her debts, her financial credit would develop. But this promise was illusory. If our creditors sincerely wish to come to an agreement with us they must give us facilities and must produce proposals for the increase of our capacity of payment.

5. Yunus Nadi, writing in the "République," states that last year when the delegates of the Debt Council left Angora, it had been agreed that it was not possible literally to apply the terms of the Paris Agreement, and it had been decided that: (1) A specialist should examine the economic and financial situation of Turkey to ascertain whether she could integrally meet her engagements; (2) delegates of the council should then visit Angora to initiate fresh negotiations on the basis of the specialist's report; and (3) Turkey should in the meantime pay only one-third of the annuity. According to Yunus Nadi, Turkey gave facilities to M. Rist to enable him to draw up his report, paid one third of the annuity, and then awaited the arrival of the delegates of the council. Their arrival was delayed [illegible] the Turkish Government by the bondholders. But if, instead of the council, the bondholders had directly entered into negotiations with Turkey, what could they have done on ascertaining the truth about Turkey's capacity for payment?

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 2046/1234/44

No. 35.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 20.)

(No. 132.)

Sir,
Angora, April 15, 1931.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 95 of the 18th March regarding the Turco-Soviet Naval Protocol, I have the honour to report that the French Ambassador told me confidentially that he had questioned Ismet Pasha about the protocol and the Turco-Soviet Commercial Treaty and that Ismet was emphatic, and in M. de Chambrun's opinion sincere, in declaring that these agreements contained no secret clauses.

2. M. de Chambrun thought that the Naval Protocol was of greater advantage to Turkey than to Russia, and that it was of decided advantage to all non-Russian naval Powers interested in the Mediterranean. The decision to bring about the signing of the protocol had not been sudden on Turkey's part, as Tevfik Rüstü had foreshadowed it at the time of the signature of the Turco-Greek Naval Pact, but the publication of it came as a surprise to many.

3. He gathered the impression that there was now in Ismet Pasha a slight tendency away from Russia (Tevfik Rüstü was still, however, as pro-Soviet as ever), and thought this was due to the Gazi's influence.

4. Fethi Bey had informed him that the Gazi and Ismet were now on very good terms—better than they had been for a long time—and give and take between them had probably produced the slight change in Ismet's attitude towards the Soviet Government.

5. Dr. Tevfik Rüstü himself told me that he had been working for three years to bring about the signature of the Turco-Soviet Naval Protocol, and that, with its signature, Turkey would be able to forgo the completion of her naval programme, half of which had been realised.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Moscow.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 2189/1049/44

No. 36.

British Agent, Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, to Foreign Office.—(Received April 27.)

Sir,
Constantinople, April 20, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to forward you herewith my annual report on the work done by the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, covering the period April 1930 to April 1931.

1. I attach hereto a detailed statement of the progress made, showing the nature of the decisions and claims. The work may be summarised as under:

Final judgments	43
Interlocutory judgments on competency	6
Total	49

In addition, 63 ordinances have been issued, ordering further and better particulars, &c., and a number authorising the discontinuance of proceedings.

Of the 49 judgments delivered by the tribunal, 28 were favourable and 21 were adverse to British claimants.

It will be noticed that three claims were against the British Government, and were all unsuccessful, and no further such claims remain outstanding.

Out of the original total of 558 claims lodged with the tribunal, there will remain 87 claims to be decided after the summer vacation, of which 72 are Cypriots.

2. During the period under review, the important claim of the heirs of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid has been heard. The decision was adverse to the claimants and the tribunal declared itself incompetent.

The tribunal has also decided, during this period, on the following important questions of principle:—

(*a*) That a British subject by naturalisation, originally a Turkish subject, cannot sue the Turkish Government before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, for the reason that his certificate of naturalisation contains the clause that British protection ceases to be operative within the limits of his country of origin.

(*b*) That the restrictions on properties situated within a military zone cannot be considered as exceptional war measures, as the law relative to military zone was passed on the 21st June, 1927, subsequently to the coming into force of the Treaty of Lausanne.

(*c*) That the seizure of properties in accordance with the law on abandoned properties is an exceptional war measure within the meaning of articles 65 and 66 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

3. The tribunal went into recess, so far as it concerns the hearing of claims, on the 20th April, but the secretariat and the office of the Turkish agent remain open for the routine procedure of pleadings until the first week in July The office of the British agent will remain open all the year.

I foresee that it will not be possible to decide many cases next term, *i.e.*, period from October to December, as nearly all the remaining cases are awaiting further particulars in reply to ordinances, but I have ascertained from the President that he is convinced that all outstanding claims will be finished during the session after Christmas, provided no unforeseen delay occurs.

It will be seen that great progress has been made, and, as in the past, good relations exist between the British and Turkish agencies.

4. There are now 38 judgments in favour of British claimants, which are awaiting execution

The "règlement" for the execution of judgments has now been issued by the Turkish agent, and is under review by His Majesty's Embassy in Turkey and Government Departments concerned

All preparations have been made to issue immediately the necessary instructions as soon as I receive authority to do so.

I anticipate difficulty in obtaining practical execution of these judgments.

5. On the 4th April, the Turkish judge, Mamdouh Bey, was withdrawn from the tribunal by his Government, as from the 1st, and, in consequence, has not attended the tribunal since that date. Djemil Bey has been appointed as his successor, at least temporarily.

The work has not been very much delayed by this action, as M Hammerich has given judgment in nearly all those cases in which there had previously been deliberations by himself, Memdouh Bey, and Judge Hill

I have, &c.
R. C. OWEN WELLS,
British Agent,
Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

Enclosure in No. 36.

Statement of Progress.

No.	Claimant.	Defendant.	Object.	Amount claimed.	Hearing.	Judgment Delivered.	Result, British Point of View.	Observations.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Government	Restitution of [illegible] properties at [illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	Claim dismissed for reasons of [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Government	Restitution of [illegible] properties at [illegible]			[illegible]	Won	Tribunal competent (see decision of test Cyprus case No. [illegible]). Order for the continuation of the procedure on the merits.
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	Won	Claim dismissed. The Treaty of Lausanne excludes compensation for damages sustained during the war.
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	Won ..	.. Claim dismissed. [illegible] 1914 did not exist any more [illegible] therefore articles 65 and 66 inapplicable.
[illegible]	[illegible] Agopian	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Smyrna	..	.	2.11.30	Lost ..	. Tribunal incompetent. Claimant, originally a Turkish subject, became British by naturalisation. The certificate of naturalisation contains a restrictive clause by which she cannot enjoy British protection within the limits of her country of origin, and therefore cannot bring suit against the Turkish Government.
[illegible]	K[illegible] ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Constantinople		.	22.11.30	Lost ..	.. Same as precedent
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties at Constantinople		.	22.11.30	Lost ..	.. Same as precedent

Tribunal No.	Claimant	Defendant	Object.	Amount Claimed	Hearing	Judgment Delivered	Result, British Point of View.	Observations.
18.	Mrs. A. M. Ekserdjian	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Constantinople		..	22.11.30	Lost ..	.. Same as precedent.
[illegible]	Heirs of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid	British Government	Restitution of properties at Iraq, Palestine and Cyprus		22.11.30	16.12.30	Won ..	.. Tribunal incompetent. Properties claimed had been taken over by the Turkish Government in 1908-9, and therefore no exceptional war measures have been applied to them.
143	[illegible] C. Georgiades	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Smyrna		8.11.30	16.12.30	Won	Tribunal ordered the restitution of the properties claimed. Claim for payment of rent dismissed.
113	Anna Georgiades	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house at Smyrna	..	8.11.30	16.12.30	Won	.. Tribunal confirmed right of ownership of claimant, and ordered the restitution of the property.
188	[illegible] and others	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house at Kelandria	..		16.12.30	Won	.. Cypriot claim. Tribunal declared itself competent, and ordered the continuation of the proceedings on the merits.
197	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Smyrna and one at Vourla			16.12.30	Won	.. Tribunal rejected plea of incompetence on the nationality of the claimant; ordered the production of the cadastre inscription of the property and also evidence as to the right of inheritance. Claim in respect of second property at Smyrna withdrawn.
36	[illegible] ..	Turkish Government and Nouri Effendi	Restitution of one property at Smyrna			16.12.30	Won	Tribunal declared itself incompetent in respect of the claim against Nouri Effendi, confirmed the right of ownership of the claimant on the property, which, according to the Turkish Government, is free from seizure.
456	Jewish Mission Committee, Church of Scotland	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Smyrna		15.11.30	16.12.30	Won	.. Tribunal rejected plea of incompetency. Ordered the Turkish Government to produce evidence in support of their allegation that the properties lie within the burnt area of Smyrna.
53	Mrs. [illegible] ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of one-sixth of the farm Yeni Tchiflik at Aidin		[illegible]	16.12.30	Won ..	.. Tribunal confirmed the right of ownership of the claimant on the properties registered in her own name and in that of her father, and ordered their restitution.
68 390	Hadfields (Limited) .. Turkish Government (cross-claim)	Turkish Government Hadfields (Limited)	Execution of pre-war contract for guns of cruiser "Messoudieh"	Turkish Government claim £13,[illegible] and £1,100, as indemnity	..	16.12.30	Lost ..	.. In this cross-claim the Tribunal gave to Hadfields (Limited) the option either to carry out the contract or to pay back to the Turkish Government £10,500 received as advance with 5 per cent. interest as from the 19th October, 1926, and gave to that firm two months to decide on these two alternatives. Claim of Turkish Government for indemnity dismissed.
80	Mrs. Takouhi Derderian	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties at Erzeroum	..	..	16.12.30	Lost	.., Claim dismissed. Claimant's husband, originally Turkish, became naturalised British without the permission of the Turkish Government, and his certificate of naturalisation contains the clause that he could not enjoy British protection within the limits of his country of origin.
81	Hachig Derderian ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties at Erzeroum			16.12.30	Lost	Claim dismissed (see No. 80 above).
[illegible]	Mrs. T. W. Gilbertson	Turkish Government	Restitution of one property at Smyrna		..	16.12.30	Won ..	.. Tribunal rejected plea of incompetence. Claimant invited to produce evidence as to her right of inheritance and the Turkish Government to produce the cadastre registration of the property.

Case No.	Claimant	Defendant	Object	Amount Claimed	Hearing	Judgment delivered	Result, British Point of View	Observations
124	Evangelical School of Smyrna	Turkish Government	Restitution of various properties at Smyrna	..	15.11.30	16.12.30	Won ..	.. Tribunal rejected plea of incompetence on the nationality of the School. Procedure to continue on the merits
11	Demetrius A. Xenos	Turkish Government	Restitution of various properties at Sevdikeui (Smyrna)		.	16.12.30	Won .	.. Tribunal confirmed rights of ownership of the claimant and ordered the restitution of the properties.
18[illegible]	Catherine Baxter	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Smyrna	..	..	14.3.31	Won ..	.. Tribunal took note of the declaration of the Turkish Government that no exceptional war measures have been applied to the properties and confirmed the rights of ownership of the claimant
159	M[illegible] N. [illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of one property at Magnesia and three at Smyrna	..	5.3.31	14.3.31	Won ..	. Tribunal took note of the declaration of the Turkish Government that no exceptional war measures have been applied to the properties, confirmed the rights of ownership of the claimant and reserved his right to have the properties registered in his name.
7.	A[illegible] E. Evans	Turkish Government	Mortgage on a property at Cordelio (Smyrna)	..		14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to prove that her mortgage has been seized by the Turkish Government.
[illegible]	[illegible], Walker & Co.	Turkish Government	Value of goods delivered as per previous contracts	£5,476 and interest	25.2.31	14.3.31	Won ..	. Tribunal found that one of the contracts stipulated payment in £ and the other in Turkish liras. Condemned defendant to pay £5,083.8.6 and £T. 131.52 with 5 per cent. interest as from the 18th October, 1926.
112	Apostolos [illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of a factory with machinery and a piece of land at Halka Bournou (Smyrna)	..		14.3.31	Won (partially) ..	Tribunal took note that no exceptional war measures have been taken by the Turkish Government, confirmed right of ownership of claimant on the piece of land; dismissed the other items of the claim.
193	Heirs of Ingram Gout	Turkish Government	Restitution of two vineyards at Kara Bournou (Smyrna)		..	14.3.31	Won ..	. Tribunal took note that no exceptional war measures have been applied by the Turkish Government and confirmed rights of ownership of the claimants.
509	P. and B. Paroumakian	Turkish Government	Restitution of a property at Smyrna	.		14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Tribunal incompetent. Property within the burnt area of Smyrna has been expropriated for reasons of public utility, in accordance with the law of the 22nd April, 1925.
499	Hagop Keshishian ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of land at Kir Chehir	..		14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence on his right of ownership.
404	Garbis Essayian ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of various properties at Yozgad and Caesarea			14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to his right of ownership.
321	Kevork Kashirian ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house at Adalia	..	.	14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to his right of ownership.
274	Despina Michaeli .	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Adalia	..	..	14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to her right of ownership.
428	Mrs. Kadan Essayan	Turkish Government	Restitution of various properties at Caesarea	..	..	14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to her right of ownership.
425	Maria P. Kyriacou ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of two properties at Smyrna	..	..	14.3.31	Lost ..	.. Tribunal incompetent. Property within the burnt area of Smyrna has been expropriated for reasons of public utility in accordance with the law of 1925.
139	Richard Anthony Green	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of ground at Kilit Bahr (Dardanelles)	.	.	1.4.31	Lost ..	.. Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence in support of his allegations.
199	John P. Lambropoulo	Turkish Government	Restitution of a property with 700 olive trees at Baindir	..	.	1.4.31	Lost	Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to his right of ownership.

Tribunal No.	Claimant.	Defendant.	Object.	Amount Claimed.	Hearing.	Judgment Delivered.	Result, British Point of View.	Observations.
[illegible]	Rosina Taragano ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of a piece of land at Dardanelles	..	21.3.31	4.4.31	Won .. .	Property to be restored to claimant either on her own right or as representative of the heirs of her late husband.
263	[illegible] Watson Company, Limited	Turkish Government	Payment of value of material furnished and expenses incurred as per pre-war contract	£854.18.1 ..	14.3.31	4.4.31	Won .. .	Defendant condemned to pay to claimants £854.18.1 plus 5 per cent. interest from the 18th October, 1926.
[illegible]	M[illegible] Ekmekdjian ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties at Adana		..	4.4.31	Won (partially)..	One house at Adana to be restored to claimant. Tribunal held that the law on abandoned properties is an exceptional war measure. Claim dismissed in respect of the other two properties.
[illegible]	Constantin Kyriakides	Turkish Government	Restitution of two houses at Mersina	..		4.4.31	Won .. .	The two properties to be restored to claimant. Tribunal held that the law on abandoned properties is an exceptional war measure.
[illegible]	Kirkor [illegible] Atalian	Turkish Government	Restitution of five properties at Adana, of five mortgages, and of sums advanced to Turkish subjects. (£ T. 1441·50)	..	..	4.4.31	Won (partially)..	Five properties to be restored to claimant. Tribunal held that the law on abandoned properties is an exceptional war measure. Claim dismissed in respect of mortgages and debts due to claimant.
23[illegible]	Mrs. Kate D. Dimitriades	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house at Smyrna	..	.	4.4.31	Lost ..	Claim dismissed. Property within the burnt area of Smyrna has been expropriated for reasons of public utility in accordance with the law of the 22nd April, 1925.
[illegible]	The Marine Manutention Company (Limited)	Seraphim Anastassiades and the Turkish Government	Pre-war contract 107,947 tons of coal to be furnished and money advanced to be refunded	£ T. 91·36 76 piastres and damages	21.3.31	2.4.31	Won (partially)..	Tribunal incompetent as regards pre-war contracts (article 75 of the Treaty of Lausanne). The heirs of Seraphim Anastassiades condemned to pay to claimants £ T. 4,786·07 with 5 per cent. interest from the 18th October, 1926.
154	Mrs. F. W. Gilbertson	Turkish Government	Restitution of a property at Mersinli (Smyrna)			18.4.31	Won	Property to be restored to claimant in proportion of her right in the succession of her late husband.
42[illegible]	Mrs. [illegible] Paton ..	Turkish Government	Restitution of various properties at Gumushlu (Bodrum)	..		18.4.31	Lost .	All the properties except one had been restored to claimant. Claim dismissed in respect of the remaining property, which was not included in the original claim.
[illegible]	G. E. and A. H. Simmons	Turkish Government	Restitution of a factory with machinery and part of another factory at Mersina	£475 and £[illegible]	[illegible]	2.4.31	Won (partially)..	Part of the factory registered in the name of A. H. Simmons to be restored to him. Rest of the claim dismissed.
181	Mar[illegible] Arnavorian	Turkish Government	Restitution of part of five properties at Smyrna, furniture and goods seized	..		18.4.31	Lost	Claim dismissed. Evidence produced insufficient.
[illegible]	Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company	Turkish Government	Pre-war contract ..	£1,633.6.8 and £1,[illegible]	..	18.4.31	Won ..	Turkish Government to pay to claimants £1,633.6.8 with 5 per cent. interest from the 18th October, 1926.

[E 2186/88/44] No. 37.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 138.)

Sir, *Angora, April* 21, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, with reference to Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 97 of the 23rd March, 1930, fourteen copies of the report of the Straits Commission for the year 1930.(1)

2. The commission continued to work in complete harmony throughout the year and its report invites little comment. The commission draws attention to the large increase in the number and tonnage of foreign shipping passing to and from the Black Sea viâ the Straits in consequence of the operation of the Soviet Five-Year Plan. This results in a considerable addition to the revenue collected by the Turkish Government in sanitary, life-saving and light dues, of which last the Turkish Government receive almost 50 per cent. When allowance is made for the depreciation of the Turkish £, the revenue is now nearly double the annual total to which it amounted when the dues were imposed after the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. This fact should provide a substantial argument in favour of their reduction, and I understand that there is good reason to anticipate that the life-saving dues will be reduced by one-half next year.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN

(1) Not printed.

E 2188/69/44] No. 38.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received April 27.)

(No. 143.)

Sir, *Angora, April* 21, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report that the primary elections just held throughout Turkey have resulted, according to the organs of the Popular Republican party, in a triumph for the party. The elections were free in that the citizens could either vote for the secondary electors, and thus ultimately for the candidates, chosen for them, and presented to them by the party—these being the only candidates who solicited their suffrages—or refrain from voting for them. According to the Government newspapers, less than 20 per cent. of the electorate abstained from voting, while those who voted included not only Moslems, but representatives of all the non-Moslem elements, who thus showed their devotion to the Popular party. Independent newspapers allege that only one third of the electorate voted, and I am informed that at at least one polling booth passers-by were decoyed in for the purpose of recording their votes and the formalities of verifying whether their names were included in the lists of voters were dispensed with. In any case the public now know from the columns of the newspapers that the great majority of the electors of Turkey have publicly signified their approval of the past and future programme of the Popular party.

2. The Popular party secondary electors who have thus been honoured by the approval of 80 per cent. of their countrymen now have the task of electing 317 Deputies. Of these 287 have already been recommended to them by the Gazi, in his capacity of head of the Popular party, and he has informed the electors that he leaves them free to elect the remaining thirty from among persons, not members of the Popular party, who may present themselves. The only condition laid down is that these persons must have national, lay and republican principles, and be sincere. The election of the 317 Deputies will take place on the 24th April, the Gazi, at the pressing request of the Popular party, allowing himself to be put up for Angora; and the new Assembly will meet on the 4th May, and will at once proceed to elect a President of the Republic. At least seventy-three members of the existing Assembly will not be re-elected. They have been dropped either for the purpose of being appointd to diplomatic or administrative posts or to make place for independent Deputies or for Popular party Deputies chosen from among the agricultural or artisan classes, whom the Gazi wishes to see more strongly represented in the Government of the country.

3. It is stated that among the candidates for the thirty independent seats will be Fethi Bey and Nuri Bey, leader and secretary of the defunct Liberal party. They had a long interview with the Gazi on the 19th April. It is understood that there is no intention of reviving the Liberal party, but the Gazi is determined that it is essential that there should be an Opposition in the Assembly. He has, therefore, published a manifesto to the secondary electors, in which he declares that it is his wish that representatives of that section of the nation which does not share the views of the Popular party should have an opportunity of examining and criticising the work and activities of that party in the Assembly, and he adds that he welcomes criticism as very salutary. He, therefore, begs the electors to choose for a limited number of seats independent persons who are opponents of the Popular party programme.

4. In a further manifesto addressed to the nation, the Gazi alludes to the solid work done for the nation by the Popular party in the past, and explains the aims of the party, which are, briefly, to maintain the sovereignty of the people, to interest the Government in economic affairs while respecting individual effort and zeal, not to allow any class-warfare, all classes being equally useful, to assist, by opening credits, co-operative production, and thus help the producing classes, to open credit establishments to help artisans and small individual traders and to take measures to safeguard the rights of the labourers and the workers. The party will also, according to the Gazi, continue the construction of ports, railways and roads, and will work for peace at home and abroad.

5. The turbulence and popular exuberance manifested during the municipal elections were absent during the primary elections for the Assembly. Compared with the municipal elections, when the citizens had the joy of being able to nominate, if not to vote for, the candidates they desired, the present elections have been very tame. The determination of the Gazi to provide an Opposition is laudable and the fortunes of the independents in the new Assembly will be followed with interest.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN.

[E 2330/1534/44] No. 39.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 147.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April* 29, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Earl of Athlone, H.R.H. Princess Alice, and Lady May Cambridge, who were passing through Turkey from Palestine and Syria on their way to England, broke their journey in order to pay a visit to Angora, as the President of the Republic, on hearing of their intended arrival in this country, had intimated that he would have pleasure in receiving them. The visit to Angora passed off most successfully and has given great satisfaction and gratification to the Turkish authorities, who displayed the traditional Turkish hospitality and throughout the stay of their guests showed the utmost friendliness and cordiality.

2. On their arrival at the Syro-Turkish frontier the distinguished visitors were met by special officials placed at their disposal to facilitate their journey, and at Konya they found the presidential railway coach, which had been assigned to them for their accommodation during the journey to Angora, awaiting them. Under the guidance of the Vali of Konya and an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the party visited the town of Konya and then proceeded to Angora, where they arrived on the 24th April, and were met by representatives of the President of the Republic and Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and by a police guard of honour and a large crowd of interested onlookers. The party were the guests of the Turkish Government during their stay in Angora, and as such were accommodated at the Angora Palace Hotel.

3. Shortly after his arrival in Angora the Earl of Athlone, accompanied by myself, was received by the Gazi, with whom were the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary-General of the President of the Republic. After half-an-hour's cordial conversation, Lord Athlone returned to his hotel, where the Gazi shortly afterwards called on him and Her Royal Highness. On this

occasion the President was alone, and, free from the restraint of interpreters and official entourage, was, I understand from Lord Athlone, even more friendly and genial than at the first interview.

4. In the evening a dinner was given in honour of the visitors by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at which the Gazi, the Cabinet Ministers and their wives, and the staff of this Embassy were present. The dinner was followed by a reception attended by the diplomatic body and high Turkish officials. During the whole evening the Gazi was in his gayest and most friendly mood, a fact which was not lost either upon the diplomatists or the Turks who were present.

5. During the reception, at which the greater part of those who assisted were Turks, I was struck by the fact that the uncouthness of behaviour and ignorance of Western manners, displayed even by Turks of high position during the early days of the Republic, were now completely absent. The majority of the Turkish ladies were as charmingly dressed and as well-mannered as any of their Western sisters, and in many cases so indistinguishable from them in style of dress and fairness of complexion that one was almost tempted to accept the theory which the Gazi developed to me at great length, to the effect that the earliest settlers in Britain were Turks, that Kent, Tashkent, and Samarkand had a common origin in the Turkish tongue, and that the Uz tribe of the Black Sea coasts had given its name to the numerous Ouses, great and small, that flow sluggishly through our English counties.

6. On the following day a luncheon, attended by some forty guests, was given by Ismet Pasha, and later an excursion was made to the Gazi's farm, where Lord Athlone's party were able to admire the rather special features of the presidential kiosk. Multi-coloured lights appearing and disappearing with great rapidity threw added radiance over the daylight scene, while the fitting rural atmosphere was preserved by a sumptuous buffet, laden with native butter-milk cheese, curded milk, eggs and other products of the farm.

7. In the evening I gave a dinner at the Embassy, at which the President of the Republic attended. This was the first occasion on which his Excellency has ever dined at any foreign Embassy, and many Turks present at the dinner or at the subsequent reception of the chief diplomatic and official personages, drew my attention to the fact. The Gazi's attendance at the dinner had nothing of the stiffness of an official visit He told me that he felt entirely at home in the Embassy, and made himself so. The sentiments of friendship and esteem which his Excellency expressed to Her Royal Highness and Lord Athlone, became almost embarrassingly fervent, but the tact and charm of Her Royal Highness were more than equal to the occasion. Later on, his Excellency took advantage of the presence of the Diplomatic Corps to make an earnest appeal to them, duly translated by Tevfik Rüstü Bey, to lay aside competition in armaments and to work for peace and brotherhood between all nations, and then proceeded to show himself as able a strategist at the poker table as in the field.

8. On the 26th April the Earl of Athlone's party left for Constantinople in the presidential coach, seen off by a large crowd and amid genuine expressions of goodwill on the part of representatives of the Gazi and of the Government At Constantinople, where the party has done me the honour of staying in His Majesty's Embassy, the visit became one of a purely private character.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 2331/718/44

No. 40.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 148.)

Constantinople, April 29, 1931.

Sir,

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to submit some observations upon the political significance of the visit of the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice.

2. I owe it to Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness to begin by saying that the cordiality of the Turks, to which I can only apply the epithet "amazing," was in a very great measure due to their charm and tact. Their

dignity of bearing, their naturalness of manner and the way in which they accepted the genuine friendliness underlying the rather uncouth and exuberant welcome of their hosts won the admiration and affection of every Turk whom they met. Moreover, in any attempt to gauge the significance of the visit it must be borne in mind that at the time when the invitation to visit Angora was issued the President of the Turkish Government had no knowledge whatever of the personalities of Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness beyond such references to their popularity in South Africa as the Turks might by chance have seen in the English press. It must also be remembered that the invitation was entirely spontaneous. I met Lord Athlone in Cairo on my last, and his first, day in that city, and, on his telling me that he was thinking of passing through Constantinople on his way home from Palestine and Syria, I merely telegraphed to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Angora instructing him to see that proper facilities were made at the frontier for the journey of the distinguished party from Aleppo to Haidar Pasha, and I made no suggestion whatever of any visit to Angora. It was the Turkish Government itself that, on learning of the possibility of Lord Athlone's presence in Turkey, expressed the earnest hope that his Lordship and Her Royal Highness would visit Angora, and it was by the direction of the President of the Republic that this chance visit was given the character of a State occasion. No doubt some of this can be attributed to a desire to enhance the importance of Turkey in the eyes of the world outside. It is, I believe, the first time that a Princess of the Royal House of England has been in Turkey, and the Turks were quick to take the opportunity. But, allowing for all that, I am convinced that the Gazi seized the occasion to make a public demonstration of his wish to stand well with the British people and His Majesty's Government. He broke his rigid precedent and dined at His Majesty's Embassy in Angora, and his manner and language could not have been more effusive had we been Turkey's greatest friends.

3. It would be foolish to suppose that the Gazi's attitude was merely a rather effusive welcome to illustrious guests. That is contrary to the man's whole nature. It certainly had an object, and to my mind there can be only one answer to the question what that object was, though the answer is twofold.

4. In the first place, the Gazi and the Turkish Government do feel that the only European Great Power that is genuinely working for lasting peace is Great Britain, and they are honestly anxious to work together with us to that end, which is just as sincerely desired in Angora as it is in London.

5. The other factor is a steadily growing fear of Russia. The Five-Year Plan may or may not succeed. If it succeeds, and success need not necessarily come within the prescribed five years, Turkey will be the first to feel the economic effect. For myself, I am of those who think, possibly wrongly, that the menace to the outside world of the success of the Five-Year Plan within ten or even fifteen years is exaggerated, for the first-fruits of success must be a raising of the material well-being of some 180 million Russians, a result that can, it seems to me, only offer advantages to commerce and industry in general. But the world at large is just beginning to realise the implications of the plan, and is getting thoroughly scared, and no country is more scared than Turkey.

6. In the event of failure of the plan, the feeling here, so far as I can, if I may use the word, "sense" it, is that the Soviet Government will have to do something to avert the rage of a people already tried to the limit—indeed, if they were not Russians or Chinese, beyond it—of human endurance, and that the only remedy is the old one of averting revolution at home by raising the Nationalist cry of danger abroad. This is, I think, what the Turks really dread. They may feel that any Russian military effort will first be directed against the west, most probably Bessarabia, but they know that, in whichever direction Russian troops may go beyond the frontier of Russia, Turkey will sooner or later be involved. The Turkish Government is therefore anxiously seeking to find a counterpoise; Germany is still too weak; France is distrusted, because any appeal to French help involves submission to French finance; and Italy, despite great admiration for the Duce and his political system, is feared more than all; there only remains of the strong disinterested Powers Great Britain, for the United States are too remote. I believe that, crudely though I may have expressed it, these are the thoughts at the back of the minds of the Gazi and the most far-seeing of his Turkish collaborators, and that here is the real reason for the warmth of the welcome accorded to Lord Athlone and Her Royal Highness.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

7. Human nature is a contrary thing, and across the picture I have sketched comes a curious shadow. The Turk, like the Serb, is a soldier by instinct, and, even though he is absolutely genuine in his refusal of foreign adventure and in his desire for peace, he finds it perfectly natural to spend more than a third of his scanty and hardly-raised income on his military forces. He sees no incompatibility in his action. Unfortunately, his General Staff, as is the way of General Staffs, remains suspicious and mistrusting of recent enemies. The Gazi can make a public demonstration of his belief in, and desire for, real friendship between England and Turkey, but the General Staff forbids British naval officers to shoot partridges on the uninhabited coast of Asia Minor and British yachts to visit the Gulf of Smyrna. One can only be patient and wait for truth to prevail over prejudice.

8. It is possible that my immediately preceding despatch may give the impression that the Gazi's somewhat exuberant friendliness at His Majesty's Embassy in Angora was partly inspired by good cheer. Indeed, an impartial spectator might have been tempted to ascribe it largely to the excellence of my champagne. But to do so would not be fair to the character of the man. He is isolated on a pedestal erected by his rightly grateful countrymen, who, being Turks and inheriting the customs and ways of thought of their forefathers, surround the pedestal with clouds of verbal incense. From amidst these clouds the Gazi speaks like an oracle, and has, almost insensibly, grown to believe that he is an oracle, so that on such occasions as this he gets carried away by the exuberance of his own language, and he is intoxicated more by his own eloquence and the flattery of the sycophants around him than by the liquor that he has imbibed. None the less the sentiments to which he gives expression, exaggerated though their language may be, are what he really feels.

9. I should add that I learn from a good source that the Soviet Ambassador, alarmed by this open manifestation of a trend away from Moscow, has at once set about a counter-demonstration, and is trying to arrange for a visit from M. Litvinov to Angora next October.

I have, &c
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 2332 69 44' No. 41.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 4.)

(No. 149.)
Sir *Constantinople, April* 30, 1931

WITH reference to Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 143 of the 21st instant recording the result of the primary elections, I have the honour to report that the secondary electors proceeded on the 24th instant to the election of 317 Deputies for the Grand National Assembly. Of these, the election of 287 was a foregone conclusion, as they had already been chosen by the Gazi, the head of the Popular party, to be the representatives of the party in the new Assembly.

2. The Gazi had intended that the remaining thirty Deputies should be persons not belonging to the Popular party. He laid it down as a condition for their election by the Popular party representatives that they should satisfy these representatives that they were possessed of the qualities of sincerity and devotion to national, laic and republican principles. Numerous candidates professing to be possessed of these qualities presented themselves, but the secondary electors were only able to discover among them twenty fit to be Deputies. At Constantinople some fifty independent candidates, including Kâzim Karabekir Pasha and Refet Pasha, former leaders of the Progressive party, sought election to four seats, but were all rejected as unworthy. Similarly at Tekirdag and Samsun, where three seats were available for independent candidates, none were elected At Manisa the secondary electors appear to have been under the illusion that Ismet Pasha was opposed to the Popular party, for they elected him to the independent seat, despite the fact that he had already been re-elected by his own constituency, Malatya. Ismet Pasha has since declared that he will not undertake the task of criticising himself, and will decline the honour thrust on him by the electors of Manisa. Similar situations arose at Burdur and Bolu, where Recep Bey, secretary-general of the Popular party, and Selah Cimcoz Bey, newly elected Popular party Deputy for Constantinople, were elected to independent seats.

3. Ten seats therefore remain to be filled. It is not yet decided whether they will be again offered to independent candidates. In any case, there will be twenty Opposition Deputies in the new Assembly, but no Opposition party, as each of the Deputies has a separate programme. None of the members of the late Liberal party sought re-election, and its leader, Fethi Bey, is retiring from politics. He still retains the friendship of the Gazi and may return to the diplomatic career.

4. Among the Government members of the late Assembly who have not been re-elected are Hamdullah Suphi and Tevfik Kâmil, who are being taken into the diplomatic service, and Niazi Asim, Ali Cenani and Nusret Sadullah, who have been dropped with others to make way for representatives of the artisan and agricultural classes. Among the new Popular party Deputies are Memduh Sevket Bey, ex-Ambassador at Tehran, Halil Bey, ex-director of museums, and Muhittin Pasha, Minister at Cairo.

5. The new Assembly will meet on the 4th May and will devote itself to the task, prescribed for it by the Gazi, of promoting prosperity at home and working for the peace of the world.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2345 69/44 No. 42

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson. (Received May 5.)

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Angora, May* 4, 1931.

THE Ghazi was to-day unanimously re-elected President of the Republic.

E 2439/69/44 No. 43.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 151.)
Sir, *Angora, May* 5, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the opening of the new Grand National Assembly took place on the 4th instant. It forms the fourth of the series of Assemblies which have followed each other since the date when Mustafa Kemal Pasha set up in Anatolia a Government distinct from that already existing in Constantinople.

2. The first Grand National Assembly devoted itself to the task of saving the country from the Greek invaders and of securing the independence of Turkey. The second abolished laws and customs which were considered to be out of date and a bar to Turkey's progress. The third repressed at home movements of discontent or revolt engendered by the imposition of new habits and ideas, and insisted abroad on Turkey's right to participate, on equal footing with other nations, in international affairs. The fourth Assembly will have to find a solution for Turkey's economic difficulties, and at the same time to prevent enthusiasm for the new order of ideas from flagging and to combat a spirit of discontent, lethargy and even despair which is now and then discernible among certain classes of the population.

3. The new Assembly consists of 317 members; of these 289 were present at the opening session, ten are yet to be elected, and the remainder were prevented from attending by illness or distance. The swearing-in of the Deputies emphasised the laic character of the republic, the Deputies no longer calling on Allah to witness their fidelity to the republic, but giving their word of honour to this effect. The election of the various officers of the Assembly resulted in few changes from the last Assembly. Vasif Bey (Smyrna), however, who was expected to become Minister of Public Instruction in the new Cabinet, was chosen to be one of the vice presidents. After the election of these officers the Assembly proceeded to the election of a President of the Republic. One of the new

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

independent Deputies, Halil Bey (Smyrna), a former Committee of Union and Progress Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1916, endeavoured to show that as the Constitution prescribed that the term of the President's office was four years, it was unconstitutional to elect a new President before November next, when the Gazi would have completed four years of office. He was refuted by Recep Bey (Kutahya) and Suleiman Sirri Bey (Yozgat) who quoted the Constitution to show that the President's tenure of office was coterminous with the life of the Assembly which elected him. The Assembly, thereupon, as reported in my telegram No. 36 of the 4th May, unanimously re-elected Gazi Mustafa Kemal President of the Republic.

4. The election of the President was celebrated by the firing of guns from the citadel, and the news was conveyed to the Gazi at Çankaya by Kâzim Pasha, President of the Assembly. The Gazi at once proceeded to the Assembly, where he thanked the Deputies for electing him, and gave his word of honour to be faithful to the republic. As he left the Assembly Hall the Deputies rose to their feet and gave him an ovation. It was noticeable that Marshal Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, who occupied the presidential box, seemed, on this occasion, to rise to his feet with some hesitation and delay. The proceedings of the day terminated with a reception of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Deputies by the new President of the Republic, after which Ismet Pasha presented to the President the Cabinet's resignation, which was accepted. The Cabinet was almost immediately re-formed without any change.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

W 5421 7 98 No. 14.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 156.)
Sir, *Angora, May 6*, 1931.

TURKISH susceptibilities have been somewhat ruffled in these past few days by an attempt to withhold from Turkey the same treatment as that accorded to other States participating in the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in regard to European Union. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs considers that another injustice to Turkey has been committed and the relevant correspondence between the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Turkish Government has been published and commented on in the local press.

2. From the press it appears that M. Briand's scheme for the realisation of European union contemplated an initial activity of a political nature. Germany and some other countries held that the problem should first be attacked from an economic angle and their view prevailed. Germany then, seconded by Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece, urged that, to obtain practical results, it was essential that Turkey and Russia should be invited to collaborate with other States already represented in the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in the commission's study of the economic world crisis in so far as it affected the collectivity of European States. Through the intervention of Great Britain a decision was taken to issue invitations on the above lines to Turkey and Russia, and on the 23rd January, 1931, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations addressed to Turkey an invitation of this nature requesting Turkey's participation in a meeting of the commission at Geneva in May of this year. An agenda was enclosed with the invitation.

3. On the 20th February, 1931, the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs accepted the invitation, mentioning in its letter of acceptance that the aim of the States participating in the commission could only be achieved if the sovereignty of each State was fully respected and if all were placed on a footing of absolute equality, and if the union was not directed against any group of European or extra-European States. On the 1st April, 1931, the Secretary-General of the League notified the Turkish Government that the commission would meet on the 15th May, that an organising sub-committee had drawn up a provisional agenda, and that certain Governments had reserved their right to suggest certain changes in the order of the items of the agenda with the result that it was not possible to indicate when item 3 of the agenda would come up for discussion. (Details of item 3 were not published, but it is presumed it dealt with the study of the economic world crisis.)

4. In its reply published on the 26th April the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs took exception to the provisional agenda drawn up by the organising sub-committee on the grounds that it did not seem to be in conformity with the task assigned to the commission, which was to be the study of the economic world crisis in so far as it affected the collectivity of European States. It also objected that as it was for the commission to decide on its method of working, it could not understand why a sub-committee on which certain members of the commission had not been represented should prescribe the method of working to be followed by the commission. Such procedure was contrary to the principle of absolute equality between all States participating in the commission. It concluded by announcing that the Turkish delegation to the commission would be prepared to leave for Geneva at any date between the 15th and the 25th May on being notified of the exact date on which it might usefully appear there. According to a communiqué in the "Milliett" of the 5th May, the Secretary-General of the League has now requested the Turkish delegation to be present at Geneva from the 15th May onwards.

5. In a leading article in the "Milliett," Mahmut Bey, Deputy for Siirt, praises the Turkish Government for the attitude it has taken up, and adds that Turkey could not let pass without protest an invitation to appear at an indeterminate date, with the result that its delegation would have had to wait about in the corridors until the commission notified it either that it was now ready to consider the question for which Turkey had been invited, or that it had adjourned consideration of the question for another session. In the matter of European Union Turkey must be treated on a footing of equality with other Powers.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

E 2444 1581 44 No. 15.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 159.)
Sir, *Angora, May 6*, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to my despatch No. 98 of the 23rd March, that on the 10th April last there was held at Angora a *kurultay*, or general assembly, of the Turkish ojaks, to decide the question of merging the independence of the organisation in the Popular party.

2. The result was, I need scarcely say, a foregone conclusion. It is noticeable that in his presidential address Hamdullah Suphi Bey described the proposal as due to the initiative of the Gazi, and, while enumerating the advantages expected to be derived from absorption by the Popular party, could not bring himself to make any pretence of personal enthusiasm for the scheme. In commenting on the forthcoming transformation the press observed that the ojaks had performed an invaluable function as a focus of national energies and of the national idea at a time when these were signally absent in Government circles, but, now that Turkey enjoyed a régime which was essentially national, the ojaks had largely lost their *raison d'être*.

3. Since the *kurultay* the press has been busy with Hamdullah Suphi's name as a candidate for a diplomatic post in various capitals. The last to be named is Bucharest, and the Roumanian Minister tells me that application has in fact been made for the *agrément* of Hamdullah Suphi Bey as Turkish Minister at that capital.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Bucharest.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

[**W 5604/7/98**] No. 46.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 14.)

(No. 161.)

Sir,

Angora, May 8, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, shortly after I had forwarded to you my despatch No. 156 of the 6th instant regarding Turkey's participation in the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in respect of European Union, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs came to me, in the course of a reception at the German Embassy, and asked me to convey to you his thanks and those of his Government for the sympathetic hearing you had given to the Turkish Ambassador's explanation of Turkey's recent attitude in regard to the "Pan-Europa" scheme, and for your assuring Ferit Bey that the Turkish attitude struck you as proper and reasonable.

2. I told Tevfik Rüstü Bey that I would do as he requested, and that I had not previously heard of the interview to which he referred. I took the opportunity to ask him to let me know exactly why Turkey was hesitating about carrying out her promise to send representatives to the coming session of the Commission of Preliminary Enquiry in respect of European Union, as the correspondence between himself and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, published in the local press, was not very illuminating. He said that the question appeared to him not quite clear, and that he was about to examine the correspondence again with a view to clarifying the position in his mind, but that, roughly speaking, the Turkish point of view was as follows:—

3. In January 1931, Turkey received from the Secretary-General of the League of Nations an invitation to take part in the work of a commission which was to meet in May, the nature of the work being defined in an enclosure in the letter of invitation. Turkey accepted the invitation. Subsequently Turkey was notified that a sub-committee in Paris had drawn up a new agenda for the commission: that Turkey would be excluded from the study of some of the items, and that it would not be possible to indicate exactly when Turkey's participation in the work of the commission would be required. This made it necessary for Turkey to reconsider her position. She felt that, having accepted an invitation to take part in the work of a commission which was to meet for a clearly defined purpose, she was entitled to collaborate in the examination of all the items on the agenda. Either those items had some connexion with the purpose of the meeting or they had not. If they had, Turkey's representatives on the commission were entitled to examine them in concert with the representatives of other countries. If they had not, then they should be removed from the agenda and placed on the agenda of one of the other numerous League commissions or sub-committees, on which Turkey laid no claim to be represented. In short, Turkey, having accepted to work with a commission, was entitled to take part in all the activities of the commission. If she were refused this, she had a just ground for complaint.

4. The Turkish attitude seems legitimate, and it is to be hoped that it will be possible so to arrange matters as to give Turkey satisfaction.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN.

[**E 2640/69/44**] No. 47.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 168.)

Sir,

Angora, May 13, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 9th instant Ismet Pasha, who, as reported in my despatch No. 151 of the 5th May, had reconstituted the Cabinet without change, announced to the new Assembly the programme of the Government, and asked for, and obtained, a vote of confidence. The 294 Deputies present unanimously recorded their confidence in the Government, Independents voting with Popular party Deputies in its favour.

2. The chief points of the Government programme were the following:—

(*a*) Peace at home and abroad.
(*b*) Defence and development of the republican principle.
(*c*) Continuation of the work of economic and general improvement of the country.
(*d*) Economy in State expenditure—already initiated by a diminution of train services, and by a reduction of 15 per cent. in the number of Government officials, and of 10 per cent. in expenditure, an annual saving of £T. 30 million being thus effected.
(*e*) A resolution to reach a definite solution of the Ottoman debt question, it being in Turkey's interest to obtain an early settlement within the measure of her capacity, and important for her economic and financial welfare that her liabilities in respect of the debt should be definitely fixed.
(*f*) Stabilisation of the currency, a powerful factor being the Central Bank of the republic, which was about to open its doors, and of which the capital, £T. 15 million, had been fully subscribed.
(*g*) Tax reform.
(*h*) Assistance to agriculture, native industry, mining and trade. Rumours of intended State monopolisation of export trade were totally without foundation.

3. Sirri Bey, Independent Deputy for Izmit, criticised the system of monopolies, and especially the Constantinople Port Monopoly, as also State administration of the Seiri Sefain Steamship Company. He pointed out defects in the fiscal legislation and in the administration. On the other hand, he approved the railway policy of the Government and ended by praising the work of Ismet Pasha and, amid cheers, proposing the vote of confidence in the Government which, as mentioned above, was given unanimously.

4. Ismet Pasha, in reply, defended the system of monopolies, which he declared had been adopted by the Government as an integral part of its policy.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN.

[**E 2641/69/44**] No. 48.

Mr. Morgan to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 170.)

Sir,

Angora, May 13, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report that the third general congress of the Republican Popular party was opened by the President of the Republic in the Grand National Assembly buildings on the 10th instant. It was composed of all the party Deputies, and of delegates from all the branches of the party throughout Turkey, and the purpose for which it had been called together was to receive an account of the work accomplished during the life of the last Assembly by the party, *i.e.*, the Government, to report on the situation, and the needs of the population in the different parts of the country, and to discuss and approve the programme which the Government proposes to carry out during the lifetime of the present Assembly.

2. In his opening speech the Gazi, who is president of the party, recalled the meeting of the first general congress twelve years ago at Sivas. The resolutions then taken by a handful of men menaced with death by their own people and by foreign foes had all been carried into effect. He begged those present to strive to retain the confidence which the nation reposed in them as shown by the result of the elections.

3. Ismet Pasha then read to the congress a review of the Government's activities at home and abroad during the past four years. At home it had been necessary to have recourse to extraordinary measures, such as the law of 1927 for establishment of security, the independence tribunals, and martial law in order to defend the principle of a republican, popular, nationalist, secular and revolutionary State against Kurdish rebels, partly encouraged from abroad,

against reactionaries at Menemen, and against a subversive Opposition press. The rise and decline of the Liberal party was touched on, and its regrettable disappearance was ascribed to its having gone beyond the limits assigned to it. Reference was made to the experiment of having direct elections for municipal bodies, and of allowing women to vote at the municipal elections, and it was indicated that a similar experiment would be tried at elections to the Assembly. The adoption of Latin characters was characterised as a turning-point in Turkish history. Passing to the work of reconstruction of Turkey and economic questions, Ismet Pasha showed how imports had now fallen below exports, and that Turkey was now independent of outside supplies of food-stuffs. He was cheered when he mentioned the progress accomplished in railway construction, in the development of the merchant marine, and in the supply of means of national defence. He concluded by reminding his hearers that Turkey had relied entirely on her own resources in carrying out the work she had accomplished in the past four years.

4. Part of Ismet Pasha's review had reference to Turkey's foreign relations. A French translation of this section of the review was supplied to the foreign missions by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and I enclose herewith a copy.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

Enclosure in No. 48.

Extrait relatif aux Relations extérieures du Discours de Son Excellence Ismet Pacha au Congrès du Parti républicain du Peuple en date du 10 *mai* 1931.

Honorables Camarades,

LES résultats qu'a obtenus notre politique extérieure au cours de ces quatre dernières années sont vraiment dignes de provoquer votre satisfaction.

Notre politique loyale et pacifique a consolidé d'une façon importante la situation internationale et le prestige de la Turquie.

Nous déployâmes de sérieux et persévérants efforts dans la consolidation des amitiés, dans le règlement des conflits et l'établissement des amitiés et dans la sauvegarde et la confirmation de la sécurité et du prestige internationaux de la Turquie.

Notre amitié avec la Russie soviétique dénonce une force et une consolidation sincères et sérieuses. Les visites mutuelles des Ministres des Affaires étrangères, la convention que nous avons passée en 1929 et le protocole naval que nous avons conclu en 1931 sont les expressions nouvelles de la sécurité et de la proche amitié entre les deux pays.

Nos relations avec l'Italie a marqué pendant la dernière session un développement digne de mention dans la direction de l'amitié. En 1928 nous avons conclu le traité d'arbitrage et de neutralité. Les visites mutuelles et les contacts entre nos Ministres des Affaires étrangères sont de nature à indiquer la sincérité et le sérieux des relations entre les deux pays.

Entre nous et l'Angleterre une bonne relation épurée de tous les conflits est la caractéristique de la session en cours. La visite amicale de la flotte anglaise, la récente visite, ne fût-ce que privée, des hauts membres de la dynastie anglaise sont dignes d'être citées avec satisfaction.

Entre nous et la France les questions de frontières sont réglées. La signature entre nous d'un traité de neutralité et d'arbitrage, bien qu'il ne soit pas encore ratifié, est une forte preuve de ce que nos désirs de bonnes relations sont sans obstacle et sérieux.

De même, pendant la dernière session, nous avons été contents d'avoir eu pour hôte à Ankara le Commandant de Paris.

Avec l'Amérique nos bonnes relations se poursuivent et se développent. Nous avons conclu un traité de commerce.

Entre nous et l'Allemagne le traité d'arbitrage et de neutralité est entré en vigueur. Nos relations sont vraiment amicales.

Nous avons eu l'honneur de donner l'hospitalité à Ankara à l'honorable membre de la dynastie du Japon. Des manifestations de sincérité se révélèrent dans les relations entre les deux pays.

Je vais parler de nos relations avec nos proches voisins.

Les relations avec l'Irak sont sincères. L'état d'esprit mutuel des deux parties est basé sur le désir de sécurité et de collaboration.

Le caractère amical, quant au fond, de nos relations avec la Perse a triomphé des répercussions des derniers incidents de frontières indésirables. Les tendances des deux parties pour collaborer avec confiance et bonne volonté mutuelle en vue d'éviter et de régler les incidents de frontières sont en bonne voie. Il reste encore en suspens, entre nous, la seule question de la délimitation des frontières, dont le règlement un moment plus tôt est vraiment notre désir sincere.

Nos relations avec la Bulgarie sont bonnes et confiantes. Nous avons un traité d'arbitrage et de neutralité. Aucun conflit n'existe entre les deux pays.

Avec la Grèce, les conflits qui existaient encore au moment du précédent congrès sont entièrement réglés. Le point digne d'importance est la vraie révolution qui s'opéra dans les états d'esprit et dans les politiques. Les deux parties renoncèrent sincèrement aux conflits et aux souvenirs du passé et elles proclamèrent cette renonciation. Les visites officielles du Président du Conseil et du Ministre des Affaires étrangères helléniques marquèrent le commencement d'une ère nouvelle et heureuse dans les relations des deux pays. Depuis lors, une sincérité évidente se manifeste entre les deux pays et les deux nations dans les relations générales et particulières.

De la visite du Président du Conseil et du Ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Hongrie amie, les relations des deux pays ont puisé une nouvelle force et sincérité. Nous avons un traité d'arbitrage et de neutralité et nos relations sont vraiment amicales.

Nous avons conclu des traités d'arbitrage et de neutralité avec la Suisse et la Tchécoslovaquie.

Entre nous et l'Espagne il y avait un traité d'arbitrage. Nous nous sommes empressés pour reconnaître la république qui y fut proclamée.

Nos relations avec l'Afghanistan restèrent intactes malgré les changements qui survinrent dans ce pays.

Avec les autres États, nous avons des relations normales; des sentiments et des vœux amicaux règlent les contacts qui existent entre nous.

Nous avons adhéré au pacte Litvinov conclu en Europe orientale pour assurer la paix internationale, ainsi qu'au pacte Kellogg, qui constitue un important document de paix dans le monde entier.

Vous voyez bien que les résultats que nous avons obtenus pendant ces quatre dernières années dans la consolidation de la situation extérieure de la Turquie et dans le travail de paix et de bonnes relations sont dignes de mention et de satisfaction.

[**E 2844/14/44**]

No. 49.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 20.)
(Telegraphic.) R.
Constantinople, May 27, 1931.

YOUR despatch No. 220.

Treaty negotiations have now been opened, and the Turks at once raised the question of equalisation of their nationals with other foreigners in regard to judicial status. Paragraph 1 of the protocol to the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty would secure such equality, and, as the protocol is an integral part of the treaty and interprets various articles thereof, it seems difficult to defend its exclusion from future agreement.

The Turks may be more ready to let the question stand over for subsequent settlement if residence articles of the Anglo-Turkish Treaty are not applied in the present instance, future agreement being confined to matters of commerce and navigation with consular articles. This would, I presume, involve the omission of article 2 and articles 5 to 13 (with possible exception of article 7) of Anglo-Turkish Treaty.

I should be grateful for your early instructions by telegraph.

(Repeated to Jerusalem.)

[**W 6059/1385/98**] No. 50.

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk (Istanbul).

(No. 298.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 5, 1931.

THE Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs called upon me at the Hôtel Beau Rivage in Geneva on the 19th May last.

2. Tewfik Rüstü Bey said that he was especially pleased to be able to pay his respects to me in person in the present very happy condition of the relations between his country and His Majesty's Government. He emphasised that so happy were those relations that for the space of a year past there had practically been no negotiations of any account on outstanding issues. In particular, Tewfik Rüstü Bey paid a tribute to your Excellency, saying that you were a personal friend of his and were regarded everywhere in Turkey with affection and regard.

3. Tewfik Rüstü Bey then went on to refer to the Disarmament Conference, and expressed his great pleasure at my election that afternoon as president. He reminded me that as long as three months ago he had expressed to you the hope that I should be elected. As regards the conference itself, his Excellency said that he very much hoped that the conference would bear in mind the undesirability of establishing controls in respect of any particular country. He emphasised the fact that this procedure had had unfortunate consequences. In his own country the difficulty which had been experienced in obtaining war material had resulted in the establishment of a new industry for that purpose so as to make the country independent of external sources, and thus Turkish activities had been diverted from channels where they could have otherwise been more usefully employed.

4. Tewfik Rüstü Bey then went on to refer to the meeting of the European Union, and said that his attendance at Geneva had largely come about as a result of the very friendly explanations which I had been able to give to the Turkish Ambassador in London. It was in view of those explanations that he had decided to come to Geneva.

5. As regards the future participation of Turkey in the work of the League, Tewfik Rüstü Bey said that he had noted what I had said to the Turkish Ambassador in London regarding the difficulty of meeting the Turkish wish for the reservation of a seat on the Council (see my despatch No. 152 of the 10th March last). He had carefully weighed the considerations I had put forward, and desired to suggest to me a fresh solution which he thought would meet the case. He said that he was particularly anxious that I should exert all my influence to bring about a settlement of the present difficulties outstanding between Bulgaria and Greece. By this means the peace of the Balkans could be consolidated, and, if a seat on the Council could then be reserved for Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, Turkey would be quite content to take her chance between these three Powers as regards a seat on the Council.

6. I thanked Tewfik Rüstü Bey for his very friendly communication, and said that I need not assure him of the great importance I attached to the maintenance of good relations with Turkey. As regards his suggestion for the solution of the difficulty of a seat on the Council, I had myself had in mind the creation of a new seat to meet the requirements of those Powers who at present felt they had little chance of representation on the Council of the League, but I said I must confess to him that, if the members of the Council were increased by one, I was doubtful whether it would be possible to reserve the seat for Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey, as indicated by his Excellency, because there were other Powers to be considered, such as Portugal and Austria.

7. Tewfik Rüstü Bey then suggested that another seat might be added to meet those cases which might be treated independently from the Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece group which he had in mind.

I am, &c.
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

[**E 2970/14/44**] No. 51.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 8.)

(No. 184. Confidential.)

Sir, *Angora, May* 30, 1931.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 21 from Constantinople of the 29th May, relative to the breakdown of the Ottoman Debt negotiations, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a confidential note by Mr. Wyatt on the conclusions of the discussions,(1) together with copies of the final proposals put forward by the representatives of the bondholders and by the Turkish Government respectively.(1) It proved impossible to bridge the difference between these two proposals and, as further discussion was clearly useless at the moment, the bondholders' representatives left Angora on the 28th May.

2. I also enclose a copy of the agreed communiqué announcing the rupture of negotiations, together with a semi-official explanation of the situation, which were published together in the Government paper, the "Milliett."(1) It will be observed that both the communiqué and the explanation are so worded as to leave the door open for further negotiations.

3. As Mr. Wyatt, I understand, will be furnishing a full report of the discussions to the Foreign Office and the Treasury, it is unnecessary for me to attempt to give an account of them here. The breakdown came, as Mr. Wyatt points out in his note, on a question of principle on which neither side felt able to give way. The Turks insisted on a permanent settlement here and now, while the bondholders' representatives were equally firm in refusing to consider anything more than a provisional arrangement.

4. On my arrival here to-day I went to see my French colleague. Comte de Chambrun said that the fact that it had proved impossible to reach agreement was largely due to the attitude of the Turkish delegate, Saracoglu Şükrü Bey, the late Minister of Finance, who had set out to win a personal triumph, and had therefore laid down conditions which it was impossible for the bondholders' representatives to accept. His Excellency had, however, not lost hope, for he had yesterday, just after the bondholders' representatives had gone, received an unexpected visit from Ismet Pasha, from which he derived the impression that the Prime Minister had not been kept accurately informed of the course of the discussions by the Turkish delegate and seemed, though careful not to commit himself in any way, impressed by the reasons given to him by M. de Chambrun for the attitude adopted by the bondholders' representatives. M. de Chambrun was encouraged in this view by the fact that Ismet Pasha's last words to him were: "I shall have something to say to you on the 9th June." As that is the day on which M. des Closières is due to arrive in Paris, M. de Chambrun hopes that this rather cryptic utterance may mean some fresh suggestion on the part of the Turkish Government.

5. The Prime Minister is to dine with me quite privately and unofficially next Monday, and if, as is possible, he speaks to me about this question, I may have something further to report.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(1) Not printed.

[**E 2972/14/44**] No. 52.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 8.)

(No. 186.)

Sir, *Angora, June* 1, 1931.

AS I anticipated in my despatch No. 184 of the 30th May, Ismet Pasha spoke to me yesterday evening about the question of the Ottoman debt.

2. The Prime Minister showed no resentment at the breakdown of the negotiations, but expressed his deep disappointment at their failure, for he had, he plaintively said, been confident that this time, with all the facts of Turkey's financial difficulties before them, the representatives of the bondholders would

understand the situation and make proposals for a final settlement within Turkey's capacity to pay. He was steadfast in his determination that Turkey should honour her obligations, and he realised the importance of keeping up and improving her financial credit abroad, but she could not do the impossible, and, unless the bondholders realised this and reduced their demands to a figure which Turkey could meet, the position was hopeless. His Excellency then asked me how I viewed the situation that had arisen and what I thought would happen next.

3. I said that, speaking quite objectively, I saw no reason to despair. Both parties had to be educated, which took time; the bondholders had to be convinced as to the true state of the financial situation in Turkey, while the Turkish Government had to learn why an immediate and final fixation of the annuities was not in the circumstances feasible. It was, I felt, an excellent sign that both the communiqué recording the breakdown of the discussions and his Excellency's own words to me showed that the intentions of the Turkish Government to arrive at an equitable solution still remained, and for myself I felt that time would show that the present gulf between the two parties was not unbridgeable. I considered that the offer of the bondholders' representatives to accept a temporary annuity of £1 million was eminently reasonable, and I could not believe that the real difficulty lay in the difference between the £800,000 in the last Turkish offer and the £1 million demanded by the bondholders. The trouble was, so it seemed to me, that the Turkish Government insisted on an immediate final settlement, while the bondholders stood out for a provisional period. There, I must tell his Excellency frankly, I was on the side of the bondholders. I understood his desire not to have hanging over him the uncertainty of heavy financial demands that might be made upon him in two or three years' time, but his Excellency must remember, firstly, that it was not possible to base a fair calculation of the capital value of the Ottoman bonds upon the market price as quoted to-day. The lowness of that price was to a great extent due to the failure of Turkey to implement the 1928 contract, and any attempt to estimate the value of Turkish bonds must include the discountable value of the payments stipulated in the 1928 agreement. The bondholders' representatives would be failing in their duty to their clients if they were to come to an agreement that had as a basis the market price of Turkish bonds to-day. Moreover, it was to be hoped that in two or three years' time the world would have passed through the economic crisis from which it was suffering now, and that Turkey, like every other country, would be better off. That would mean that money would be easier to get, and if during the interval Turkey had steadily paid the annuity her credit would have improved and she would therefore be able to get better terms for the settlement of her obligations. As regards the next step, presumably the bondholders' representatives would make their report to their council, and for the moment there was nothing to do but to await this action; but clearly when two parties to a question were, as in this case, both anxious to arrive at a settlement, opportunities of renewing the discussion could not fail to arise.

4. The Prime Minister did not demur to any of my observations, but neither did he show any advance on the attitude adopted in the final proposal of the Turkish Government, transmitted in my despatch under reference. Still, neither I nor my French colleague, to whom I related my conversation with Ismet Pasha, regard the situation as hopeless.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**E 3134/3134/44**] No. 53.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 187.)

Sir, *Angora, June* 4, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday I held my customary reception at this Embassy to celebrate the birthday of His Majesty the King.

2. The reception was attended by the Diplomatic Body in Angora, the leading personalities in Turkish public life, and such few British subjects as reside here.

3. It was obvious that the Turkish authorities wished to take the occasion to mark a sense of respect for His Majesty and their feeling of the friendliness of the relations between the two countries, for, besides the usual visit in the morning of the Director of Protocol to offer the congratulations of the Turkish Government, the President of the Grand National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and every Minister, high official and important Deputy who could get away from their duties came to offer their personal congratulations. One Minister, indeed, was so anxious to show his goodwill that he arrived, much to my embarrassment, half-an-hour early, while Colonel Tevfik Bey, Secretary-General of the Presidency, rose from a sick-bed in order to present the President's good wishes and congratulations.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[**E 3259/68/44**] No. 54.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 22.)

(No. 204.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June* 17, 1931.

WITH reference to Mr. Morgan's despatch No. 118 of the 8th April last, I have the honour to report that in a recent conversation with a member of my staff the Persian Ambassador stated that he expected that the negotiations for a readjustment of the Turco-Persian frontier would shortly be actively resumed in Tehran and brought to a successful conclusion.

2. The parties were now in agreement that the compensatory cession of Turkish territory would be effected in *two* places, near Kotur and near Bazirgan, which seems to be where the Maku-Bayazit road crosses the frontier. It only remained to settle the extent of the cessions at each point, both at those mentioned above and on Ararat. All the Turks really needed in the latter area was sufficient territory to give them a practicable road round the mountain on what was at present Persian soil, but they were holding out for more. The cession which they were demanding was of a strategic nature, whilst, in return, they were offering territory of no particular value.

3. His Excellency added that he did not anticipate any trouble with the Kurds this year. The co-operation between the three Governments concerned, which had now been instituted, made all the difference. The surrender of Sheik Mahmud had been very important. Last year the Turks had let themselves be caught napping, but now they were wide awake.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran, and His Majesty's High Commissioner in Iraq.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.